

LIVES OF THE ENGLISH
SAINTS

REGIS COLLEGE LIBRARY



3 1761 06541347 8



ST. GERMAN

of DFD-553



7792212

RE-ISSUE
OF THE
LIVES OF THE ENGLISH SAINTS.

Originally published by Mr. Toovey, London,

AND NOW PUBLISHED BY

WILLIAM BERNARD KELLY,
8 GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

THE TRADE SUPPLIED BY
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO., LONDON.

For the literary history of these volumes see VERY REV. JOHN
HENRY NEWMAN'S *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, pages
153—337; and Appendix, page 33.

Libes of the English Saints:

PROJECTED AND PARTLY EDITED BY

THE VERY REV. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN,

And others of the Oxford School,

Comprising upwards of Thirty Biographies of the most eminent
Ecclesiastics and Pious Women of the early English
Church. 14 vols., 12mo, handsomely printed,
with engraved frontispiece.

St. Stephen, Abbot and Founder of the Cistercian Order,
12mo, sewed, 2s. 6d.

St. Richard, the Saxon; **St. Willibald**, **St. Wal-
burga**, and **St. Winibald**; 12mo, sewed, 2s.

OVER.

St. Augustine of Canterbury, Apostle of the English, and his Companions, St. Mellitus, St. Lawrence, St. Peter, St. Justus, and St. Honorius; together with some account of the early British Church, 2 vols. 12mo, sewed, 3s.; or 2 vols. in one, cloth, elegant, 3s. 6d.

The Hermit Saints; being the Histories of St. Gundleus, St. Helier, St. Herbert, St. Edelwald, St. Bettelin, St. Neot, and St. Bartholomew, sewed, 2s.

St. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester; and **St. William**, Archbishop of York, 12mo, sewed, 2s.

St. Paulinus, Archbishop of York, and companion of St. Augustine; **St. Edwin**, King, and **St. Ethelburga**, Queen; **St. Oswald** and **St. Oswin**, Kings and Martyrs; **St. Ebba** and **St. Bega**, Virgins and Abbesses; and **St. Adamnan**, Monk of Coldingham; 12mo, sewed, 2s. 6d.

St. Gilbert, Prior of Sempringham, 12mo, sewed, 2s.

St. Wilfred, Bishop of York, 12mo, sewed, 2s. 6d.

St. German, Bishop of Auxerre in Normandy, 2 vols. 12mo, sewed, 3s.; or 2 vols. in one, cloth, elegant, 3s. 6d.

Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, 12mo, sewed, 2s.; or cloth, elegant, 2s. 6d.

St. Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx; and **St. Ninian**; 12mo, sewed, 2s. 6d.

St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury; **St. Richard**, Bishop of Chichester; **St. Waltheof**, and **St. Robert**, of Newminster, 12mo, sewed, 2s. 6d.

“There are special reasons at this time for recurring to the Saints of our own dear, yet most erring and most unfortunate, England. Such a recurrence may teach us to love our country better, and on truer grounds, than heretofore; to invest her territory, her cities and villages, her hills and springs, with sacred associations; to give us an insight into her present historical position in the course of the Divine dispensation; to instruct us in the capabilities of the English character; and to open upon us the duties and the hopes to which that Church is heir, which was in former times the mother of St. Boniface and St. Ethelreda”.

My study
LIVES

OF

THE ENGLISH SAINTS.

St. German,

BISHOP OF AUXERRE.

COLL. CHRISTIANUS
BIBL. 1006
TORONTO

MANSUETI HÆREDITABUNT TERRAM, ET DELECTABUNTUR IN
MULTITUDINE PACIS.

12754

[Signature]

DUBLIN:

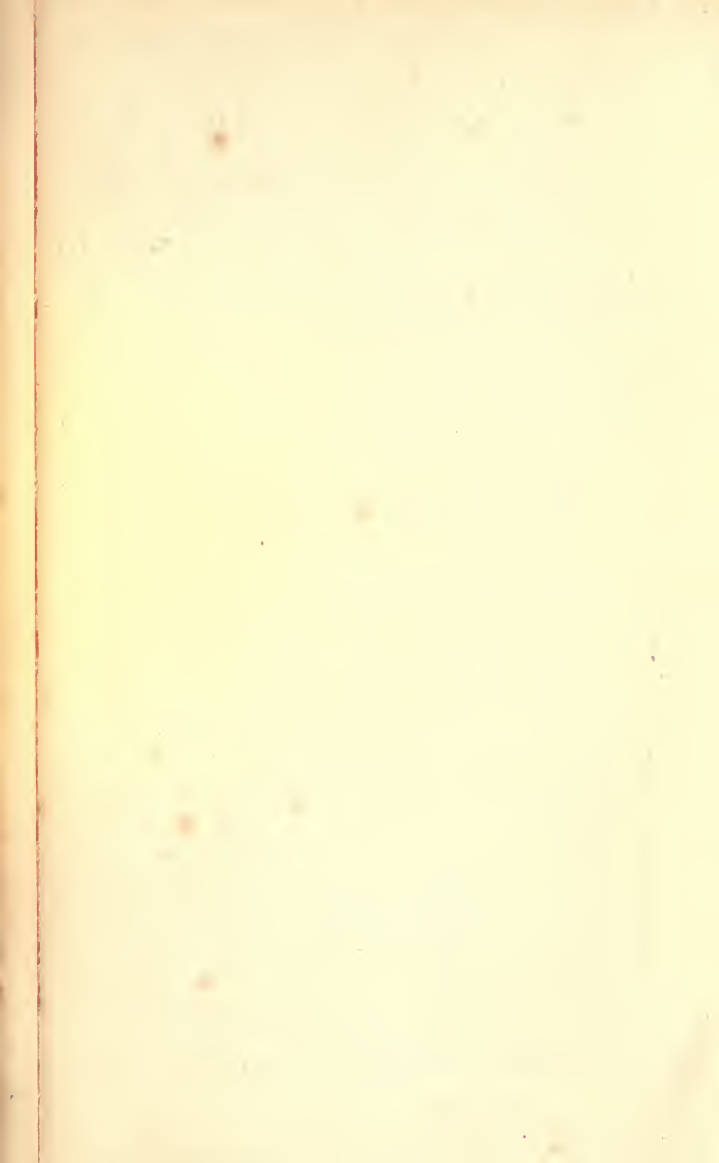
W. B. KELLY, 8 GRAFTON STREET.
LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND CO.

MDCCCLXVI.

1866

H-BR
~~2038~~
~~G37~~

BR
1720
G43
W25
1844







S. GERMAN

LIVES
OF
THE ENGLISH SAINTS.

St. German,
BISHOP OF AUXERRE.

MANSUETI HEREDITABUNT TERRAM, ET DELECTABUNTUR IN
MULTITUDINE PACIS.

LONDON :
JAMES TOOVEY, 192, PICCADILLY.

1844.

12,754

Henry Mozley and Sons, Printers, Derby.

ADVERTISEMENT.

CARE has been taken in the annexed work, to avoid as far as possible all dogmatism upon disputed points of doctrine and discipline. The austerities of Saints and the miracles they performed, are, in some measure, an exception ; both because the numbers of those who have ungenial feelings with regard to them, are gradually diminishing, and because they form as it were the very substance of ancient Hierology. At the same time many things which are out of date in this country, have been produced just as they were found in original documents for the sake of historical veracity. Facts have been often related as facts without any intention of proposing them as examples. For which reason little has been said about the development of any principle into its consequences, or the different stages of the process, as necessarily involving an opinion and a decision upon the thing developed or the reality of the development. Those miracles which have been given without any stress upon the authority or evidence, are here considered true and credible as far as testimony can make any thing credible. Still on the circumstances and accidents chiefly has the weight been laid, inasmuch as probable evidence varies in its influence in proportion to the shades of human disposition and prejudice. Where no authority is given, that of Constantius, the contemporary of St. German, must be

supposed ; elsewhere the author or the sources of the information are distinctly marked. Hericus, the Commentator of Constantius, after his original, stands out among the recorders of these miracles.

Lastly, the dates of Boschius the Bollandist have been followed. Though on some occasions it might have appeared warrantable to depart from them, yet it was safer not so to do. Dates are, as many other things, like a house of cards. Take away one, you endanger the whole fabric. The chronology of the learned Jesuit is all of a piece. It is finely interwoven with the facts, and it does not materially vary from that of our great Chronologer, Archbishop Usher.

CONTENTS.

Chap.	Page
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. ST. GERMAN'S YOUTH	15
3. THE CHURCH AT AUXERRE	25
4. ST. AMATOR AND ST. GERMAN	32
5. GERMAN BISHOP	41
6. GERMAN'S CHARACTER AND MODE OF LIFE	51
7. ST. GERMAN FOUNDS A MONASTERY	60
8. ST. GERMAN AND ST. MAMERTINUS	71
9. GERMAN'S FIRST MIRACLES	83
10. BRITAIN IN 429, A. D.	90
11. PELAGIANISM IN BRITAIN	108
12. THE COUNCIL OF TROYES	121
13. ST. GERMAN'S FIRST VISIT TO BRITAIN	138
14. THE ALLELUIATIC VICTORY	154
15. ENGLISH TRADITIONS	162
16. ST. GERMAN'S RETURN TO GAUL	168
17. TWELVE YEARS	171
18. THE TOWNS OF GAUL	174
19. ST. GERMAN AT ARLES	180
20. HIS SECOND VISIT TO BRITAIN	195
21. MORE ENGLISH TRADITIONS	206
22. ST. GERMAN AND THE BARBARIANS	213
23. THE INVASION VIEWED BY CONTEMPORARIES	230
24. ST. GERMAN AT MILAN	236
25. ST. GERMAN AT RAVENNA	246
26. HIS DEATH	258
27. HIS CANONIZATION	264
28. CONCLUSION	282



LIFE OF
St. German,

BISHOP OF AUXERRE, A. D. 418-448.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

THE subject of the following narrative will be called, not St. Germanus nor St. Germain, though precedents are not wanting for these forms of his name, but St. German. This it is believed is his true English name, as connected with the ancient and warm sympathies of our country. Several places still bear witness to these sympathies, while they support the assertion just made. The town of St. Germans in Cornwall, with its old Priory, the Abbey-church of Selby in Yorkshire, dedicated to St. German, the Cathedral church of the Isle of Man, a chapel yet visible in the Abbey of St. Albans, and the field of a famous victory obtained in Wales, by the Britons under St. German's auspices, and still called Maes Garmon, or Field of German : these are the most prominent instances, though doubtless there are many other traces of the Saint and his name, in that storehouse of old traditions and fond remembrances, Wales.¹

¹ He is called German in Cressy, Collier, Stillingfleet, Dugdale and Camden ; In the Primer of Queen Mary, Germaine, but in the Psalter of Elizabeth, German.

St. German was born in the fourth century, and flourished in the beginning of the fifth. He was not a Briton by birth, parents, or habitual residence. Yet he is numbered among English saints on account of his great services to our nation, and has been honoured with the high title of Apostle to the Britons by his contemporaries and by subsequent writers. He was bishop of Auxerre in France, a town not very far from Sens, which was the metropolitan See, and the name of Auxerre is commonly added to his own, to distinguish him from another famous St. German, bishop of Paris a century later. ¹ Six other distinguished saints are also mentioned as having at different times, and in different countries borne the same name ; a martyr near Amiens, a bishop of Constantinople, a bishop in Africa, a martyr in Spain, another at Cesarea in Cappadocia, and a bishop of Capua. The canonization of St. German of Auxerre was not determined by those rules which in later times were introduced to avoid mistake ; either the age in which he lived was marked with greater candour, or his character stood too high to require any investigation. The testimonies to his fame from early writers, equal, one might almost say, the number of authors in Gaul or Britain, who lived within a few centuries of his own time. St. Gregory of Tours has transmitted to us the words of St. Nicetius, who, a century after St. German's death, wrote to a person in high authority in the following way : " In what language can I speak of the illustrious German, Hilary or Lupus ? such miracles are performed at the time I write before their shrines, that language fails me in relating them. Persons afflicted by demoniacal possession are suddenly raised and suspended in the air, while undergoing the

¹ See Martyrol. Antissiod. 1751.

ceremony of Exorcism, and proclaim publicly the glories of these Saints." Accordingly Auxerre, from the date of his elevation to the bishopric, became the object of universal reverence in the West. No town in France, say the learned,¹ can boast of such a number of precious offerings. Yet there is nothing in the natural advantages of the place to raise it in men's consideration. To the mere traveller for pleasure, Auxerre must appear very insignificant. The country around is uniform and tame. Its vineyards produce excellent wines, but vineyards are in reality not pleasant objects to behold. The river Yonne is large enough to supply the town with the necessaries of life, but too inconsiderable on the other hand to give much dignity to the walls it washes. The buildings are not of the most stately and attractive appearance. Many collegiate Churches in France exceed St. Stephen, the cathedral of Auxerre, in architectural beauty. Yet notwithstanding Auxerre has ever had more than the ordinary respect of Christendom, which is to be traced up to St. German its founder and benefactor. Such was the title of this Saint to Canonization ; not any formal examination into his claims, but the general consent of men, the acknowledged reality of his miracles, the proverbial use of his name, the durable efficacy of his saintly life.

St. German's name is found in all the early martyrologies and calendars. Martyrologies are not confined to the names of Saints who have sealed the Faith with their blood, else were he excluded from them. He was a Confessor. In the presence of danger and amidst much suffering, he bore witness to truth and opposed profane violence. Yet were his sufferings chiefly self-imposed ;

¹ Gallia Christ. Abbayes de France Beaunier, tom. II.

and occasioned by the mortifications of a singularly ascetic life ; and unless we except the temporary difficulties to which he was exposed by the contact of barbarian chieftains, voyages at sea, and opposition of heretics, his life may be said to have passed on the whole calmly and quietly. He died at Ravenna in Italy, surrounded by the imperial court, and attended by several bishops of note. In the later martyrologies, his day is appointed to be kept on the 31st of July, as the editions of the Roman, by Baronius and Usuard, shew. But in ancient times, the 1st of October was, together with the former, observed in his honour ; and it is no small commendation (if he needed any,) that his memory was blessed solemnly by the universal Church in the West twice a year. At Auxerre, as many as six days were devoted to the praise of its Patron. One may add for the benefit of persons accustomed to distinguish between the relative importance of days, that the 31st of July is still kept in France as a Duplex, and at Auxerre as a Duplex Primæ Classis, according to the dignity of the Patron of a Church.

But we have yet to inquire before we enter upon the details of his life, what was that peculiar connexion of St. German with England which has deserved him the title of an English Saint. A short notice in one of Bede's¹ minor works will explain this point sufficiently for the present purpose. "The Pelagian heresy, he says, was disturbing the faith of the Britons ; on which account they implored the assistance of the Bishops of Gaul, who sent to them German, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes, both endued with Apostolical gifts, to defend the Christian Faith. The two Bishops, on arriving, restored religion to its purity by

¹ Bede de sex Aetatibus ad an. 4402.

the word of truth and the evidence of miracles. Moreover the Saxons and Picts were engaged in war with the Britons at that time, and had united their forces. Whereupon the two champions undertook their defence, and through Divine interposition defeated the enemy. For German assumed himself the conduct of the war, and instead of making use of the Trumpet, gave orders that the whole army should strike up the cry of Allelujah, which terrified their formidable adversaries to such a degree that they took to flight." This, as it will be seen, occurred in his first visit to England ; but he also paid the Britons a second, the circumstances of which are not in all points attainable from the remains of so early a period. The fact however is certain, and is not only related by Constantius, the original biographer of St. German, by Bede, and Hericus a monk of Auxerre, but testified by the words of the martyrology of this last town. "The 31st of July, it says, is sacred as the day of the decease of St. German of Auxerre, at Ravenna. He was a bishop distinguished for his birth, faith, doctrine, and wonderful gift of miracles. Having been sent into Great Britain together with St. Lupus, of Troyes, by the prelates of Gaul, he overthrew the Pelagian heresy in that island ; and again a second time having resorted thither with Severus of Treves, he entirely eradicated the remaining seeds of that error." It will be seen by this that the companion of St. German was not the same on the two occasions, the former being St. Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, the brother of the famous Vincentius Lirinensis, and the friend of St. Sidonius Apollinaris, and the latter Severus, an eminent Bishop of Treves, the residence of the imperial Prefect.

These are the principal reasons which justify us in ranking him among our own worthies. Nor is he

solitary in this claim to naturalization. Palladius, (not to speak of St. Augustine, the great Archbishop of Canterbury, and many others,) Palladius, the apostle of the Scots, was not a Briton ; some have thought he was a Greek by birth, who was attached to the Roman See. In truth there are distinguished persons in history who appear to belong to no nation exclusively, but to be the common property of society. Of this kind were the Apostles of our Lord ; they were claimed as Patrons by every Church they visited, and their Jewish origin was merged, so to say, in the wider privileges of Catholic birthright. Such also in his degree was St. German. He is French, because he flourished in Gaul ; he is British, because he converted Britain from heresy ; he is Italian, because he terminated his glorious career at Ravenna. Next to the service of establishing primarily the Christian Faith in a nation, none may deserve higher praise (if the word may be used for what is above praise,) than that of extirpating error, and restoring the Doctrines of the Church to their natural purity. Such was St. German's work for the British Church. The establishment of Christianity in this island dates, as has been already remarked, from times Apostolical ; but in process of time Orthodoxy was assailed by the perversions of the well known Pelagius, who in all probability was himself a Briton, and who by means of his emissaries created a schism in our Church, and threatened the very foundations of its existence. Deputed by the Gallican bishops with the sanction of Pope Celestine, German fulfilled the object of his mission, and secured to himself the eternal obligations of the Britons, with the illustrious title of Apostle.

Were there not very vague notions afloat of the state of Christendom in the fifth century, it might be suffi-

cient to leave the details of his life to adapt themselves to the circumstances of his times, according to general principles of history. But the particular crisis in which the Western world was placed when he was raised to the office of Bishop, has given rise to some confusion. In the minds of many there is no middle between an age of barbarism and one of refinement. But in truth, the line by which we may distinguish one period from another, is often arbitrary and indefinite. On the bare mention of the invasion of the barbarians, some would expect nothing but ignorance, vice, and superstition. Yet in general the most overbearing revolutions are incapable of destroying at once the great features of the manners of any period. There is a state of transition which precedes a new era, and which partakes of the characteristics of the two contending influences. The middle ages are supposed to begin with the invasion of the barbarians in the fifth century ; but whoever will consider the protracted existence of Roman institutions and manners for centuries after that time, will necessarily abate his ideas of barbarian ascendancy. The great invasion of the Goths into Gaul took place in 406, that is, twelve years *before* St. German was Bishop of Auxerre, and twenty-eight *after* his birth, consequently in the very flower of his years. Honorius, the brother of Arcadius, and the son of Theodosius the Great, was then emperor of the West. The effects of this invasion were dreadful beyond description. Its fury seems chiefly to have raged in that part of France in which Auxerre is situated. Mayence, Strasbourg, Spire, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, situated in the north-eastern parts of that country, are noted as the objects of unlimited devastation. "The consuming flames of war," says Gibbon, "spread from the banks of the Rhine over the

greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich, and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their homes and altars." Traces, it may be added, were left long after at Auxerre of the presence of these relentless invaders. But after all the accumulated circumstances of their oppression are taken into account, it still remains constant that the great bulk of the people in Gaul continued Roman in institutions, manners, language, arts, and religion. There was no indiscriminate division of the conquered lands among the conquerors, as Montesquieu has proved, and in many cases conditions were stipulated, which, while they secured the liberty of the natives, were more advantageous to the aggressors than wanton violence. Again, though we should admit the most extreme opinions concerning the multitude of the barbarian invaders, yet had they been distributed over so large a country as Gaul, their numbers would have been very inadequate for any sudden revolution. Consequently, in the first invasion of 406, it appears their sojourn in particular places was not long; and after they had exercised their wonted pillage, they moved onward without securing what they left behind. Thus Auxerre, with a large district in its vicinity, returned to the dominion of the Romans, who continued as before their magistrates and generals throughout that country. St. German himself, as we shall see, was duke and governor in obedience to Rome. The Franks seem to have been the first who took regular possession of Auxerre and the provinces around it, and in process of time it was conceded to the king of the Burgundians, the comparative leniency of whose government is well

known. But there was another cause not less effectual in diminishing the pernicious effects of the invasion, and which ought not to be overlooked.

The ascendancy of moral and intellectual endowments is so great, that when two hostile powers are brought into contact for any length of time, physical strength almost invariably yields in some measure to the sway of mental superiority. The Goths became a different people after they had taken possession of Gaul. The court of Toulouse rivalled that of Ravenna in the protection of literature and arts, and in the elegance of its forms. "The odious name of conquerors," says Gibbon again, "was softened into the mild and friendly appellation of the *guests* of the Romans ; and the barbarians of Gaul repeatedly declared, that they were bound to the people by the ties of hospitality, and to the emperor by the duty of allegiance and military service. The title of Honorius and his successors, their laws, and their civil magistrates, were still respected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had resigned the possession to the barbarian allies ; and the kings, who exercised a supreme and independent authority over their native subjects, ambitiously solicited the more honourable rank of master-generals of the imperial armies. Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name still impressed on the minds of those warriors who had borne away in triumph the spoils of the Capitol." The south of France moreover it must be remembered, continued long in the possession of the Romans. It comprehended what was called Septimania, or the Seven Provinces, of which Arles was the seat of Government. There the Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul had his residence. The vicinity of this strong-hold of

old Roman civilization and splendour tended not a little to soften the barbarians throughout the land.

As a general fact, the invasion of the barbarians produced an undoubted decay in the cultivation of letters, and Sidonius Apollinaris¹ deplotes, in his letters many years after, the neglect into which the schools of learning were falling. Without stopping to observe that the attainments of St. German himself would not be affected by this circumstance, since his education must have been completed many years before the invasion, the expressions of Sidonius are to be understood with great limitations. There were many like himself who had enjoyed all the advantages of a liberal education, Faustus of Riez,² Claudian Mamertus, Lupus, Constantius, Probus, and many others. The study of classical literature was still the great resource of the higher classes, and very frequently the disturbance of the times instead of diverting men from intellectual pleasures, was the occasion of their popularity. Ferreolus and Apollinaris, two distinguished persons, who had retired from public life on account of the impossibility of adapting high principles to the proceedings of state affairs, would thus naturally consider their libraries, as one of the chief ornaments and resources of their magnificent seats, where the danger of indulging in political conversations would be compensated by the freedom with which literary characters were canvassed. Not only all the writings of antiquity which have come to our knowledge were familiar to persons of education, but authors are alluded to by them which are totally unknown to us. Moreover schools had been established in Gaul so early as Tiberius's reign ; the study of the

¹ B. II. Lett. x. p. 172.

² Sidon. Ep. iv. I. p. 318. See also Anquetil, tom. I. p. 221.

sciences had been encouraged by several edicts from successive Emperors ; and by degrees that country had become the seat of learning and talent. The author of St. German's life mentions his attendance at the Auditoria Gallicana, or Gallic schools, and we learn from St. Jerome that at the same time the liberal arts were in the most flourishing condition in Gaul. The principal universities (for such they seem to have been) were at Treves, Bordeaux, Autun, Toulouse, Lyons, Marseilles, and other great towns. Their importance may be estimated by the attention paid to them by the government. Repeated edicts were issued for their advantage. An extract from that of Gratian in the year 376, only two years before St. German's birth, is too interesting to be omitted.

“Gratian Augustus to Antony, Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul.

“In the great cities, which belong to the district committed to your¹ Magnificence, and which are distinguished for professors of learning, the most accomplished must preside at the education of the youth; whether teachers of rhetoric or grammar in the Grecian and Roman languages. The orators² are to receive from the treasury the salary of twenty four measures ; and the Greek and Latin grammarians, according to custom, may be content with twelve measures. In order also that those cities, which claim metropolitan privileges, may have the choice of professors, (inasmuch as each town may not be enabled to pay sufficiently for masters and instructors,) we intend to add something for the advantage of Treves ; and enjoin that thirty measures

¹ The titles bestowed upon the various officers of the Empire was a point of great nicety, in the fourth and fifth centuries.

² The orators here are the same as the professors of rhetoric.

be granted to the professor of rhetoric, twenty to the Latin, and twelve to the Greek, master of grammar."

It is no contradiction to what has been said, that the general taste had very much degenerated since the Augustan age. The fact indeed cannot be denied, though opinion as to its extent and application, may vary according to the prejudices of individuals. But the taste of an age is not a certain criterion of the condition of learning and science. It sometimes happens that the greatest diffusion of knowledge is not accompanied with an equal degree of judgment and refinement. But whatever symptoms of decay may have been perceptible in the public schools of Western Europe, they were more than counterbalanced by the ardour and industry which was bestowed upon theological studies. And it is very probable that the true cause of those complaints to which Sidonius Apollinaris gave vent concerning the neglect of learning, arose more from the distaste of Pagan literature which the institution of Christianity produced, than from the immediate influence of the barbarians. Do what they would, to use a familiar expression, the greatest votaries of classical pursuits, were finally compelled to follow the tide of opinion, or rather were themselves alienated from a subject which corresponded so imperfectly with the new sympathies of their nature. The author just quoted, so skilled in poetical art, so successful in elegant composition, himself grew weary of his former occupations, and devoted the latter years of his life to the deeper studies of a Christian Bishop. Claudian Mamertus, a man of considerable genius, was famous for his philosophical attainments, yet to him was the Church indebted for very different services in Christian doctrine, and the introduction of a more perfect system

of psalmody and public worship.¹ In fact the whole energy of Europe was concentrated upon one object : the new Faith which had lately taken possession of the nations and brought at last the imperial power into its obedience. Gaul was not behind other countries in giving evidence of the zeal which had been kindled. Christian literature became the general subject of interest. Commentaries on the sacred scriptures, treatises on ecclesiastical offices, practical exhortations, expositions of orthodox doctrine, occupied the attention of all. Foremost stood the monks of Lerins, in their labours for the truth. Lerins was an island to the south of France, where St. Honoratus had founded a monastery after the example of Cassian, and Cassian had lately brought over from Egypt the monastic system and established it at St. Victor in Marseilles. These two settlements proved the seat of religious and intellectual activity. Many of the eminent writers of the time were there brought up. Besides the two distinguished founders just mentioned, Vincentius surnamed Lirinensis, St. Hilary, St. Lupus, Faustus, and others, had been disciplined by the rule of Lerins. These were contemporaries of St. German, and in all probability well acquainted with him ; two we have positive evidence of having been his friends, St. Hilary of Arles, and St. Lupus of Troyes. But there is a peculiar circumstance connected with these monastic houses, which tended greatly to promote religious studies in Gaul. This was, as is well known, the contest which had been awakened throughout Christendom between the sectaries of Pelagius and the Church. No country took a more ardent part in the struggle than Gaul, and no particular spot centered in itself so much controversial warmth as

¹ See Sidon. Ep. iv. II.

Lerins. Times of religious controversy are probably the most conspicuous for the energetic display of the moral and intellectual faculties. Discussions on abstract questions of philosophy, or even on subjects of political interest do not always avail to rouse the feelings of mankind in general. One country, one city, one school, often absorbs all the sympathy which they excite. But when religion and the interests of the soul, are the subjects of debate, the sparks of human energy are kindled as by a charm and spread with the rapidity of an electric fluid. Opinions work upon actions, and actions re-act upon opinions ; the defence of truth or error, stirs up the moral powers and leads men on to deeds of vigour, the character of which depends on the principle which first gave birth to them ; again the effects of active zeal reflect upon the opinions and systems of men, and raise them to those heights of speculative and logical abstraction which are the wonder of beholders, and the enigma of future generations. This was remarkably exemplified in the age of St. German. Theology was beginning to assume that systematic shape which it maintained and developed during successive ages. The attacks of heretics directed against every part of orthodox doctrine, at one time impugning the articles of faith, at another the canons of discipline and order, had exercised the arms of the Catholics. They had learnt by encountering so many various sects, the analogy of the Faith, and at the same time the connexion of error. Hence they were enabled to dig more deeply round the foundations of Christianity, and to anticipate the introduction of false teaching, by advancing to the abstruse and ultimate principles of all religion.

CHAPTER II.

St. German's Youth.

ST. GERMAN was born at Auxerre in the Diocese of the Archbishop of Sens, probably about the year 378. Gratian was Emperor of the West, and Valens of the East. The following year Theodosius the Great came to the throne of Constantinople.¹

Little is known of his early years. Constantius, his original biographer, informs us that his parents were of noble rank. Their names were Rusticus and Germanilla, and long after their death their memory was preserved at Auxerre, where German had erected a chapel over their remains.² There is no authority however for considering them in the light of canonized Saints. It is certain they attended carefully to the education of their son ; and from the silence of ancient writers, one might infer he was an only son. This however is not necessary to account for the excellence of his education ; it never was a feature of the Roman character to neglect the education of the youth ; and those of noble birth were in the fourth and fifth centuries as careful on this subject as they might have been in Cicero's time. Consequently German was instructed in the seven liberal arts, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Music, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy. The progress he made in them was proportioned to the abilities and judgment with which nature had endued him. To enter profoundly into the study of any, or

¹ Art de Vérifier les Dates. tom. I. p. 396. Anquetil. tom. I. p. 216.

² Hericus de Mir. ch. II. 19.

to arrive at equal information in all, was not the object of this preparatory course, or, as Eusebius calls it, *encyclic* instruction.¹ Exclusive attention to any particular branch of learning, was reserved for a subsequent period, when the youth were sent to the Universities, which, as we have seen, were in a very flourishing condition at this time. Law was that which was marked out for German. The knowledge and even profession of the Law, was almost necessary for the young pretenders to dignities and offices. It does not appear to have incapacitated them from bearing arms, and the two professions were not unfrequently united in the same person.² But it was the Career of the Pleader which was emphatically called the "Nursery of Honours."³ "Hardly, says a contemporary writer, were the suits of the barrister at an end, than his titles and dignities began."⁴ We cannot be surprised at this, when we remember the important part which eloquence held in the Roman constitution. The corruption again of manners would afford a larger scope for the talents of the Pleader, than is possible in a well regulated state; and though the public acuteness and discernment would naturally progress as the art became more refined, yet would there be numerous occasions where the wit of one man might divert the minds of the judges into the channel he wished. Full proof of this fact is to be found in the records of the age.⁵

What danger however was involved in the state of life to which German was destined, he would have met

¹ Τῶν εγκυκλίων παιδεία Book vi. ch. 2. see Valesius's learned note.

² See Sidon Apoll. Lib. xi. B. i. p. 58, and his Life.

³ "Seminarium dignitatum," Nov. Theod. xxxiv.

⁴ Sid. Apoll. B. i. Lett. xi. p. 60.

⁵ See Sid. Ap. B. ii. Lett. v. and B. ii. Lett. vii.

with considerable advantage. He was a Christian, and his parents were Christians. He lived in a place adorned by holy Bishops, from whom all that spiritual care, which parents are insufficient to bestow, was to be expected. The Sacraments to which laymen are admitted would have been early offered to him, though we have no direct intimation of it. For it was considered so important a neglect in Novatian, that after the Baptism he received on the bed of sickness, which the ancients called Clinical baptism, he had not sought for confirmation at the hands of the Bishop,¹ that Pope Cornelius doubted whether he had been partaker of the Holy Ghost ; and it was made the ground of a serious opposition to his admission into the Priesthood. But we do not find that objection was raised against German at a subsequent period when elevated to the Bishopric, on the score of any such omission. Nor would he have been deprived of that Christian instruction, which the catechetical schools of the primitive Church afforded. A part so essential of ecclesiastical discipline, must have held at Auxerre as in the rest of Christendom, the place which was due to it. The five Bishops who have governed the Church of Auxerre before St. German's accession, have all been honoured by posterity as Saints. And we may safely infer that the flock which they tended, possessed all the spiritual advantages which the Church can furnish.

It was under these circumstances that German went to Rome to complete his education and enter into public life. Rome was at that time, what Paris was in the middle ages, the University of Universities, or, as it was called, the " Home of jurisprudence, and the school

¹ Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ περικυθεὶς ἔλαβεν. Euseb. B. vi. 43 ch.

of letters.”¹ In the thirteenth century an illustrious Italian was known to seek for knowledge in France ; but in the fourth, the native of Gaul repaired to Rome in order to give the last finish to his studies.² Thither flocked from all quarters of the empire numbers of students, the occupations of whom attracted the special notice of Government. They were obliged to enter their names in the registers, to present testimonials of their birth-place and quality, and to declare what studies they intended to follow. Lodgings were assigned to them, and officers, called *Censuales*, were appointed to make an inspection into their lives, and to see that they avoided clubs or associations, and attendance on public sports and entertainments. If any were found faulty, they were to be punished, and sent away home. But none were permitted to stay at Rome after twenty, lest the splendour and vanities of the city should tempt them to forsake the service of their country.³ Besides a large number of private teachers, there were public professors appointed, who had their schools in the area of the Capitol. Notwithstanding this discipline, among the great temptations which Rome presented, German would naturally require the antidote of early habits of restraint, and experience the benefit of those precepts which he had learnt of his parents and Bishop. His character indeed had not as yet the mark of deep holiness ; rather it appeared of an unformed kind ; like many of his own age, he would seek to enjoy life, and yet shrink from transgressing the dictates of conscience. But where pleasure is constantly before the eyes, the

¹ *Sid. Ap. B. i. Litt. 6. p. 30.*

² See Villemain. *Littérature*, on Dante.

³ See Stillingfleet's *Origines. p. 215. Ed. 1840.*—See also a letter of St. Jerome to Rusticus.

conscience may soon lose its discernment, unless directed by special circumstances. German's sojourn at Rome has been left in obscurity by his biographers, and we might fear for the consequences of his residence in so corrupt a city.¹ Yet nothing has been transmitted which could throw any blame upon his morals or general character, except what might be involved in carelessness with regard to religious duties, and fondness for juvenile sports. Still such were the temptations which especially then surrounded the Christian in Rome, and in every large city of the empire, that public amusements, which are never without their dangers, were poison in themselves to those who joined in them. The majority of Christians nevertheless did indulge in them, and the best that can be said of this practice is, that the intention might be innocent at first. "Behold, says Salvian, innumerable thousands of Christians resort daily to the impure representations of the Theatres." The theatres and games were but the continuance of the old Pagan custom aggravated by the depravity of imperial manners, and no baptized person, says the same author, could attend them without offering plain violence to the oath of his initiation. Any one may easily convince himself of this fact by the numerous accounts left by ancient Christian authors, St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, Tertullian and Salvian. So great however was the force of example, that the circus and theatres were crowded by those who might have been joining in the solemn services of the Church. "If it should happen, as it does indeed frequently, that the same day an ecclesi-

¹ St. Jerome in his early years, not long before, had experienced the dangers of Rome, and was haunted ever after with the painful recollection of them. Vid. Fleury, Lib. xvii. § 3.—See also the interesting poem of Chateaubriand: *Les Martyrs*.

astical festival be observed and public games announced, I ask all candid persons which place attracts the most Christians, the stalls of the theatre, or the House of God?—Nay, if the day of the Funeral games (*Feralia Ludicra*) occur at the same time as a feast of the Church, not only do they who call themselves Christians not come to Church, but if any unawares should have come, and hear suddenly that the games are going on while they are in Church, immediately they take their departure.”¹

However it is remarkable how guarded the expressions are which afford any clue to his life previous to his conversion. “The austerities of his future years, we are told, were sufficient to efface his past errors, *if he had committed any*, and render him who *perhaps* had been exposed to sin, the pattern of virtue.”² This deserves particular consideration ; for whereas on one hand, much instruction is to be gained from the history of persons who have lived long under the influence of Satan and the world, and afterwards have been turned to God, and passed the latter part of their lives in penitence and deeds of amendment ; so on the other it is useful to remark that uncommon religious fervour in later years, need not be introduced by a youth of dissipation and vice, as the proverbial saying might seem to imply : “The greater the sinner, the greater the Saint.” If this popular phrase can bear any good sense, it must be taken to mean that those who have been great sinners, must double their endeavours after holiness, in order to reach the level of the just and make amends for past transgressions. In early times it was a source of lasting bitterness to have sullied the white garments

¹ Salvian p. p. 127, 131, 133. Ed. Baluzii.

² Constantius C. ii. § 12.

of baptism, though the rigours of penance had restored the sinner to God's favour.

However if students were obliged to return to their countries at the age of twenty, German must have left Rome before any durable impression could be made on his disposition. About this time he entered upon the public duties of his profession, probably in his own country, Gaul, and distinguished himself in an especial manner before the tribunals of the Prefect. He accordingly did not wait long to lay aside the Toga, (which was the name for the Lawyer's habit, and from which the whole class were called *Togati*;) and he was soon invested with the insignia of an administrative charge. It is uncertain what the first office was to which he was promoted. A later writer says he was Censor,¹ but his authority is insufficient. Soon however he rose to one of the highest dignities in the Empire; he was appointed Duke and Governor of the Provinces.

Not to mention the numerous subdivisions of offices, there were three distinct gradations in the government of the provinces represented by the Prefect, the Governor, and the Magistrate. The first had the administration of an entire province, the second that of a part only, the third the superintendence of a city or small district. In the last persecution which preceded the establishment of Christianity, the edict of Maximin, the Emperor, had been in the first place addressed to the Prefect; then it was the part of the Prefect, to transmit its contents to the governors of the provinces² who in their turn were enjoined to communicate the imperial orders to the various magistrates of parti-

¹ Hericus.

² οἱ κατ' ἔθνος ἡγουμένοι, or οἱ κατ' ἐπαρχίας.—Euseb. Lib. ix. ch. i.

cular places.¹ It was to the second of these stations that German was raised; the importance of it was great, for he appears to have had the government of the Armorican and Nervican Districts, which comprehended what was called at that time the first and second Aquitain, the province of Sens, and the second and third Lugdunensis, a tract of land which extended nearly from the banks of the Rhine, to the shores of the Atlantic. The title of Duke which was attached to his office,² had lost its etymological sense of a charge only military, and was identical with that of governor to all appearance, although naturally he would have commanded the service of the troops. Superior to him in the provinces, were the Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul, and the vice-prefect or Vicarius of Gaul, strictly so called. The whole of the Roman Empire was divided into four Prefectures, the East, Illyria, Italy and Gaul. The Prefecture of Gaul included Britain, Spain and Gaul. Consequently the Prefect had a power equal almost to that of the sovereign. His residence was first at Treves, but during the episcopate of German, it was fixed at Arles in the south of France. Under him were three Vicarii,³ whose authority must have been little inferior to that of the Prefect himself; there was one in each of the three great divisions, Britain, Spain, and Gaul. They must have been in fact the great check upon the Prefect's power, for they were not properly his ministers, but

¹ λογισταί, στρατηγοί and præpositi.

² Thus in Euseb. ix. 4. mention is made of a *στρατοπεδαρχὴς* (different from the *στρατηγός* or magistrate) *ὃν Δούκα* (Duke) *Ῥωμαῖοι* *προσαγορεύουσι*, and the Codex Theod. says: "Ducis et Præsidis simul officio quandoque idem functus." "Idem Dux et Corrector Provinciarum. Notitia Dignitatum."

³ See Sirmondus, Note I. to Litt. 2. B. I. Sidonius.

were appointed by the Emperor, and their office was accordingly considered *sacred*,¹ like that of their superior. Next to these came the Dukes or Governors of the provinces, to the number of twelve in the west, one of whom was German. Before he reached this high post, he had married Eustachia, a lady eminent for her birth and wealth, as well as for her good qualities ; nothing is known concerning her, except that subsequently when German was ordained, she changed the character of wife, for that of his spiritual sister.

In all these circumstances of St. German's secular career, it would seem that he had been providentially prepared for the ecclesiastical dignity he was afterwards to hold. By the study of eloquence, which his early profession required, he had learnt the art of communicating his thoughts freely to any assembly of men, an acquisition which proved valuable in the exercise of his episcopal duties ; for though on occasions, or even throughout his future life, he may have been supernaturally guided by the Holy Spirit in his intercourse with others, yet it is impossible to say how far what we call natural instruments, are rendered subservient to the ends of God, or whether He ever dispenses with them, or whether there is not an antecedent absurdity, involved in any of those distinctions, which are founded on man's short sighted inductions, the whole theory of human ideas being of a nature so inconceivable. Again, German's acquaintance with jurisprudence, was of the greatest importance to his pastoral office, and enabled him to meet those numerous legal emergencies which are common enough now, but in the fifth century engrossed, in a special manner, the attention of the Bishop. "The Bishop, says a modern

¹ *Sacrâ vice.*

historian,¹ was become in each town the natural head of the people, and in fact the mayor. His election and the interest it awakened were the great events of the city. It was chiefly by means of the Clergy that the Roman laws and customs were preserved in the towns, from which they were afterwards drawn for the general legislature of the state." It were easy to object against this consideration, that the career of the law was very generally adopted, as has been observed, and that if German was called from a secular profession to a religious office, it is not necessary to seek for a providential intervention to account for the advantages just mentioned. Two thirds of the laity, it might be said, were skilled in oratory and jurisprudence, and it would be more extraordinary that German should be ignorant with regard to them than the reverse. Again it may be objected, that transitions from a secular life to the ecclesiastical ministry were almost an every day's occurrence. The fact is not denied ; and since the invasion of the Goths, they had become still more frequent. "If there is no strength in the republic, said an author of the same age,² no protection ; if the Emperor's supplies are at an end, the nobility have resolved either to abandon their country or to assume the Tonsure," which was the mark of ecclesiastical profession. But after all, the dictates of gratitude towards the moral Governor of the world may have their foundation in the reality of things, though the events which are the immediate occasion, have in them apparently nothing extraordinary or contrary to the expectations of men. Effects are contained in causes, and effects virtually imply causes ; if effects are good, on the sup-

¹ Guizot. *Essais*. Ed. Charpentier, p. 39.

² Sidon Apoll. B. II. Lett. I.

position of a benevolent Author of all things, the causes must not only be good, but providential. In strict truth those occurrences which are most common, are as miraculous and providential as those which appear strange to our apprehensions. How can our conceptions grasp the real nature of any thing ? How can we understand the relations, the causes, the ends, the means, which constitute the reality of things ? Happy coincidences are but the instrument of awakening our perceptions of God's righteous government, they are not the first link of a wise chain of circumstances. Still they are the just ground of gratitude to God, since they both involve the eternal causes of things, and are the development of the excellent and harmonious designs of Him who is the Fountain of all wisdom and goodness.

CHAPTER III.

The Church of Auxerre.

ONE of the districts of German's department was Auxerre. And there he resided. At the time he held the office of Governor, St. Amator was bishop of the town. Amator was the fifth bishop since an episcopal See had been founded there at the introduction of Christianity into that part of Gaul.

St. Peregrine, in the middle of the third century, was sent by Pope Sixtus the second, at the request of a few Christians at Auxerre ; and preached the gospel to the Pagans who formed the bulk of the population. He built a small Church at one of the gates of the town, called the Gate of the Baths, because it was near the river Yonne where Baths were erected. This

was probably the time when seven Bishops were sent through Gaul in the Decian persecution, who accomplished the conversion of that nation, although a great number of Pagans remained till a very late period.¹ Some provinces however had Christian Churches long before ; those of Marseilles, Lyons, Vienne, were flourishing in the time of Domitian, as Irenæus shows. St. Peregrine, after he had accomplished his Apostolic task at Auxerre, removed to other pagan districts, and finally obtained the palm of martyrdom at Baugy in Burgundy, during a persecution which was raised against the Christians. We shall again have occasion to revert to this Saint, and the circumstances of his life. His memory is honoured on the 16th of May. St. Marcellianus was his successor in the Episcopate, and after him St. Valerian, who was present at the Councils of Sardica and Cologne, in the years 347, and 349. At his death in 366, St. Eladius governed the Church of Auxerre, and was succeeded by St. Amator in 388, who, as has been observed, was Bishop, while German was Governor.

This illustrious person, who holds such a conspicuous part in the history of German, was the only son of Proclides, and his wife Ursiciola.² His father constrained him to marry Martha, a native of Langres, in

¹ The authors of the *Gallia Christiana* make a singular mistake in placing the persecution of Domitian in the third century. It was the persecution of Decius.

See Anquetil. *France*, tom. i. p. 170. Some say that nine Missionaries were sent by the Apostolic See into Gaul. Saturninus to Toulouse; Trophimus to Arles; Paul to Narbonne; Stremonius to Clermont; Martial to Limoges; Gratian to Tours; Peregrine to Auxerre; Savinian to Sens; Dionysius to Paris. See Tillemont, tom. iv. *Mém.* 480.

² Isiciala in *Gall. Chr.* but Ursiciola in Tillemont.

Champagne, in order to leave the riches of the family to natural heirs. St. Valerian, who was then Bishop, was desired to give the nuptial blessing. However, Amator, who had profited by the spiritual counsels of the Bishop, after the ceremony, determined to live a life of virginity, and accordingly communicated his intention to Martha, who adopted a similar resolution. After the death of his father, not content with this secret vow, he applied to St. Eladius, the successor of St. Valerian, and made public profession of continence, on which occasion he received the Tonsure and was ordained Deacon, while Martha was enlisted among the women who consecrated themselves to God. They did not however part from each other, and in this imitated the example of St. Paulinus and St. Therasia, and many others.¹ It was not unlikely that envy should take occasion of this circumstance ; and in fact, after Amator became Bishop, Licinius, his Archdeacon, with others, endeavoured to attack his character ; but God took upon Himself the part of vindicating his innocence, and punished severely his accusers, who had carried

¹ According to Stephanus, the African, in the sixth century, there was ecclesiastical sanction for the practice of the minor Clergy living in the same house with their wives, and partaking of the same table. But when they attained to a superior order, it was not lawful ; whether Priests came under this limitation does not appear. P. 55. Boll. ad Mai. I. Tillemont, however, does not attach much credit to this author. See notes at the end of tom. xv. Eccl. Mém.

In Constantius we find a Presbyter living in the same house with his wife, Senator and Nectariola.

St. Aug. Cons. Evang. lib. ii. “ Hoc enim exemplo (Mariæ et Joseph) magnificè insinuat^r fidelibus conjugatis etiam, servatâ pari consensu continentîâ, posse permanere vocarique conjugium, non permixto corporis sensu, sed custodito mentis affectu.

their profane curiosity so far as to penetrate into his bed-chamber. Shortly after Martha died, and was buried at the Mons Autricus, which was the great Cemetery in the vicinity of Auxerre, where the three Bishops, Marcellianus, Valerian, and Eladius, were likewise buried.

The author of Amator's life,¹ who lived in the sixth century, and had opportunity to obtain correct information concerning him, relates, that while Amator was still Deacon, a lady of rank, called Palladia, entered the Church on Easter-day dressed in a costly manner. She had been married to a rich Pagan called Heraclius, of Ædua or Autun, and had subsequently turned Christian, though her husband remained a heathen. "When the sacrifice was ended,"² the author continues, "and she had received the holy Eucharist in bread, she advanced towards Amator, who, as Deacon, was appointed to administer the cup to the faithful as the confirmation of the communion." But he rejected her and bid her depart, because she was splendidly dressed, and had not withheld intercourse with her husband to prepare for so solemn a feast. Pricked to the heart at this public reproof, she went home and related to her husband what had happened, and urged him to take vengeance on the Deacon. While they were designing the death of Amator, they both fell dangerously ill. At last, conscious of the Divine wrath, they set off in a carriage, (for they were too exhausted

¹ Stephanus, an African priest, whose work is found in the Boll. ad Mai. i. p. 58.

² *Perfecto itaque sacrificio, dum Eucharistiæ libamina Sanguinis quoque haustu confirmare voluisset, accessit ad beatissimum Amatorem, tunc Diaconum, qui sacratissimum Calicem in vitam æternam populis porrigebat.*

to walk) and when they found the Deacon, threw themselves at his feet, and entreated his pardon for the bad purposes they had entertained. Amator readily complied, and having sent for a Priest, he had Heraclius, the lady's husband, baptized, and then with oil that he himself had blessed, anointed them, calling on the name of the Lord, and healed them.

Amator succeeded to Eladius in 388, on Monday, the 27th of March, and governed the Diocese of Auxerre for thirty years, during which he effected a great reformation by his preaching, and performed a number of miracles. There was still much Paganism in that part of Gaul, notwithstanding the efforts of the preceding Bishops; and we must not consider Amator in his position when first he entered on his Episcopal duties, in the same light with subsequent Bishops, or again with Prelates of our own time. Power was still in the hands of the heathen, though the seat of the empire had declared for Christianity, and probably multitudes preferred the gorgeous display of Pagan rites, to the more simple ceremonies of Christians. Accordingly it was with difficulty that ground was obtained for building Churches,¹ the number of which was very small. However as the zeal of Amator converted many of the Gentiles, it became necessary to obtain space for religious worship. He therefore applied to a wealthy citizen named Ruptilius, for a large house which he possessed within the town. Ruptilius at first refused, but having fallen sick, he was compelled to resign it. Amator then turned it into a Church, and dedicated it on the 3rd of October. This is the Church which was afterwards celebrated as that of St. Stephen, and stood where the present Cathedral is situated. We shall see

¹ See Steph. Amat. Vita and Hericus Mirac. B. i. ch. 3.

that St. German was afterwards ordained Priest and elected Bishop in the same, and that Amator there breathed his last, surrounded by his flock. In 600, Didier, Bishop of the place, enlarged it, and dedicated it afresh on the 19th of April.¹ And in 1215, William, likewise Bishop of Auxerre, had it pulled down and restored on a more magnificent scale. While Amator was building, a large sum of money was found in the house, which he sent to Ruptilius, the former owner ; but it was refused by him, and returned for the benefit of the poor and the repairs of the Church.

Among the miracles which are related of St. Amator, he is said to have put to flight the evil spirits which occupied the public burial place on the Mons Autricus ; to have restored sight to the blind, the use of their limbs to the cripple and paralytic, nay, even life to the dead ; and to have stopped a conflagration which threatened to reduce the city to ashes.² Without stopping to examine the evidence on which these accounts rest, and to consider the degree of authority due to Stephen the African, who is the chief witness to them, it may be observed that there is no antecedent improbability in them, since we shall find that St. German performed greater and more miracles some time after, and that the testimony which has handed them down, is allowed by learned critics to be of the most authentic and trustworthy nature.

During Amator's episcopate took place the invasion of the Goths, to which allusion has already been made. There is no distinct relation of the measure in which Auxerre suffered during the invasion, except what is involved in the vague expressions of St. Jerome and

¹ See Gallia Christ. 262. and Tillemont, t. xv.

² See Heric. de Mir. Tillemont, tom. xv.

Orosius. However one victim of the barbarian's fury, as is supposed, a native of that city, and a child, has been preserved in the memory of posterity among the Acts of martyrs.¹ When the head of St. Just, (for so he was called,) was brought to his mother who resided at Auxerre, the house in which it was bestowed, was seen to spread forth a bright light. St. Amator having perceived it as he rose up to say his nightly office, inquired the cause of it, and upon learning what had happened, returned thanks to God for the honour of this martyrdom during his episcopate; after which he gave orders for a public procession, and deposited the head of St. Just, in the place destined for its sepulture. This account, if it may not with more probability be referred to the persecution of Maximian a century before, according to the poetical narrative found among Bede's works, seems to prove that the effects of the invasion were felt at least in the neighbourhood of Auxerre, though there is no positive account of any siege of that town. At a later period it is certain that the barbarians occupied the place, for there was an interval of ten years, during which the succession of the Bishops was suspended by the Goths.² But for the details of the first invasions between 406 and 409, we can only draw inferences. St. Jerome says,³ "Innumerable and savage nations have occupied *the whole of Gaul. Whatever is situated between the Alps and the Pyrenees, the Ocean and the Rhine*, is laid waste by the Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alani, Gepides, Heruli, Saxons, Burgundians, Alemanni and Pannonians.—Mayence, that noble city, has been taken

¹ Vid. Tillemont, tom. xv.

² See Hericus Prologue to the De Miracul. 2.

³ Ep. cxxiii. ad Ageruchiam. Ed. Venet. tom. I. 914.

and sacked, and thousands have perished in her Church. Worms, after a long siege, has been utterly destroyed. The powerful towns of Rheims, Amiens and Arras, have been the prey of their fury. Terouenne, Tournay, Spire, and Strasburg, are converted into German provinces. Aquitain, Novempopulania, Lugdunensis, Narbonensis, with the exception of very few towns, have been entirely pillaged, &c." There is reason to think Auxerre would be included in the general name of Lugdunensis, the limits of which are so imperfectly defined. And the course of the barbarians from Rheims to Toulouse, where they ultimately settled, would naturally be directed through the Diocese which Amator governed.

Such was the condition of the Church in which German was born, the Bishop whose influence balanced his own, and the succession which he was afterwards to take up.

CHAPTER IV.

St. Amator and St. German.

LIKE all the great men in Gaul, German had his country seat. It was not far from Auxerre; and thither he frequently retired, to indulge in the amusement of hunting. Hunting at all times has been a favourite sport of the rich, and was then as popular with the Romans as with the Goths, to whose nature and habits it was especially congenial.¹ The duties of his office, often obliged him to visit remote districts;

¹ See Sidon. Apoll. Lett. 3. B. iii. Lett. 2. B. i. Lett. 9. B. iv. Lett. 21. B. iv. Lett. 8. B. v.

but he was at his native place, when an incident, apparently trivial, connected with this same sport, was the instrument in God's hands, of giving an entire change to his life.

In the middle of the city, we are told, there was a large pear tree, an object of reverence to the inhabitants, both for its antiquity and its size. Ostentation prompted German to bring the spoils of the chase to the town, and hang them upon the favourite tree. This repeated practice gave offence to Amator. Some superstition was allied in the minds of the Pagans with the skulls of the animals, which German exposed in the public place, and which they called *Oscilla*.¹ The Christian profession of German, ought not to allow him, thought Amator, to foster the remains of heathenism, which his own efforts had tended so much to extirpate. It was an encouragement to the Pagans to continue those practises expressly denounced in Holy Scripture : "To sacrifice upon the tops of mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, *under oaks, and poplars, and elms, because the shadow thereof is good.*" (*Hosea* iv. 13.) He therefore presented himself before the civil Governor, and addressed him thus : "Cease, I entreat you, to indulge this empty jesting, for it is a stumbling block to Christians, and a satisfaction to Heathens. Such practices belong to the worship of idols, not to the pure religion of Christ." These admonitions, though often repeated, were lost upon German. Nor was it the power of an evil habit alone, which confirmed him in his disobedience ; Amator knew he was urged by a foolish feeling of vanity and worldly honour ; he there-

¹ See Const. Vit. Germ. Tillemont. xv. t. p. 8. Canons of St. Boniface.

fore desired him to cut down the tree itself, which gave occasion to the scandal ; but all was vain.

One day when German had retired to his country place, Amator took his opportunity, and had the tree cut down to the very roots and burnt. The skulls he ordered to be cast away without the city. When the Governor heard what he had done, he was filled with wrath, and thinking his dignity exposed, as well as his vanity offended, he so far forgot the nature of that religion, to whose blessed sacraments and graces he had been admitted,¹ that he threatened death to the author of the deed. During the heat of his indignation he set off for Auxerre, accompanied by a large body of men. He knew well that the inhabitants would rise up with one accord to defend their holy Bishop. The news of his intention however reached Amator before his arrival. Upon hearing which he exclaimed : "No, it is not possible that so unworthy a man as myself, should bear witness with my blood to my Saviour." Martyrdom indeed was not granted to him, though none was more able to suffer all things for Christ. Far otherwise did Almighty God dispose events. It was revealed to the Bishop that his departure from this life was at hand, but that the very man who persecuted him would shortly succeed him in the See of Auxerre. Instigated by this divine admonition, he did not wait for German's arrival, but set off to *Ædua* or *Augustodunum*, now called *Autun*, to have an interview with *Julius* the Prefect of Gaul,² who was then making a

¹ " *Ritu atque munere insignitus.*" Const. Tillemont, tom. xv. p. 8.

² The Prefect of Gaul, in a public edict this year, 418, is called *Agricola*, we must therefore either suppose him to have been called by both names, as was common, or that one of the two

transitory sojourn in that city, his usual residence being Arles.

St. Simplicius was then Bishop of Autun. Second of the name, he was one of that bright cluster of holy prelates which then adorned the land, and did justice, says our authority, to his auspicious name by his singleness of heart and childlike spirit. Hearing of Amator's approach, he went out to meet him with his clergy. The same respect was shown by the Prefect Julius, who, attended by a large suite, advanced to welcome him. After they had exchanged the usual salutations, Amator was led to the city with all the demonstrations of reverence, which his character and station commanded. Times have changed, and manners with them, and though genuine holiness must ever call forth the expression of the respect and love which it produces, yet the Saint does not meet with that reception now, which he did in the fifth century,—shall we say even from barbarians. But to adhere closely to the original testimony of these precious customs at the risk of repetition ; the following day, Amator expressed his wish to visit the Prefect at the Pretorium, as was called the abode of the supreme magistrate. Whereupon Julius hastened to meet him on his way, and with all the indefinable tokens of one who could distinguish the intrinsic dignity of the Christian priesthood, from the mere outward honours it possessed, he first guided the Bishop to his palace, and then humbly requested his blessing. After Amator had blessed him, he thus addressed him : “ The Lord has informed me of my approaching end, and as there is no one fit to undertake

had lately succeeded the other ; or again, that this Julius was not Prefect of all Gaul, but Vicarius of Gaul. See the Boll. note ad locum Constantii.

the superintendence of the Church but the most illustrious¹ German, I desire your eminence to allow me to confer the Tonsure on him. For such is the revelation which the Lord my God has deigned to communicate to me." The Prefect answered that German was indeed useful and even necessary to the republic, but since God had chosen him, he durst not oppose His commands, and therefore gave his consent.

No change could be made in the administration of Gaul without the Prefect's leave. Except the office of the Vicarius, all public charges were dependent upon his authority. German's was of this number, and he could not quit his post without commission from the supreme governor. This will explain what might seem strange in Amator's conduct. To influence German's mind and obtain his submission, he knew well was God's part; the ordinary methods of conciliation and intercourse were precluded by the hostile attempt just made; all in that quarter must be God's doing. His own department was to gain from the state what belonged to the state, and to prepare those subordinate means, without which, Providence does not interpose, but which yet diminish not from the divine nature of the interposition.

"My beloved sons, said Amator, to a large concourse of his own flock, whom he had assembled in the hall of his house on his return to Auxerre, listen to me with attention; what I have to communicate to you is of the utmost importance. By revelation from God I have learnt that the day of my departure from this world is at hand. I therefore exhort you all with one

¹ These epithets were not merely redundancies, as there was much nicety of etiquette concerning the titles of the different officers of State. See Gibbon, tom. iv.

mind, carefully to inquire after the fittest person to elect overseer of God's house." The multitude remained silent, no one could speak for amazement. The election of Bishops rested at that time very generally in the hands of the people ;¹ the whole burden indeed usually devolved on the clergy, from the uncertainties of popular suffrage ; still the privilege of electing belonged to the former, and they were as zealous in asserting it, as they were inefficient in exercising it. Amator, perceiving the silence of the people, proceeded forthwith to the Church. The multitude followed him. At the entrance he stopped, and bid them lay down their weapons and staves, adding, that they were about to enter the house of prayer, not the camp of the god of war. This was apparently directed to German and his party, whose rage had had time to abate, and who urged by the same feelings as the rest, had come to see the end of this astonishing scene. Accordingly they laid aside their arms, and entered the Church with the crowd. Amator having watched the opportunity when German entered, immediately gave orders to the Porters,² that is, the lowest members of the ecclesiastical order, to shut the doors of the Church, and fasten them closely. He then gathered the clergy round himself, with those nobles who were present, and proceeding

¹ Guizot France, Leçon iii.—See also Eusebius, Lib. vi. ch. 43. and Valesius, Note at the words, “ὅπο παντος τοῦ κληροῦ καὶ λαϊκῶν διακωλυόμενος.”

² In Latin Ostiarii. This was the last grade of the Clergy, see Ducange ad vocem. Isidorus junior explains his functions in this manner. “To the porter belong the keys of the Church, in order that he may shut and open the temple of God, have the custody of every thing within and without, admit the faithful, and exclude the infidel and excommunicated.”

straightway to German, laid hold of him. Then he solemnly invoked the name of God, cut off his hair, stripped him of his secular robes, and clothed him in the habit of an ecclesiastic.¹ After this he ordained him Priest, and addressed him thus : "Labour you must, most beloved and revered brother, to preserve immaculate and entire the dignity which has been committed to you ; know, that at my death God has willed you should succeed to my office."

Scarcely had Amator retired from the Church, than he began to feel the symptoms of his final sickness. His zeal however continued the same. Though debilitated by fever, he ceased not to preach to his people, and perform the last duties of his office. One topic was ever foremost in his discourse : the succession of German to the Bishopric on his death, which was fast approaching. Unanimity in electing him he strongly pressed upon them ; nor were the inclinations of the multitude less desirous of the succession, as they showed by answering with one accord, "Amen." At the same time tears rushed from their eyes, and grief filled their hearts, at the prospect of the loss they were to sustain. This, Amator endeavoured to alleviate by the character he drew of his successor, as revealed to him by God. On Wednesday the 1st of May, 418, A. D. he began to experience the agonies of death. In the

¹ It seems to be agreed, that the Tonsure was not quite the same with that in the present Roman Church. A circle of hair was left, say some, to grow round the lower part of the head. St. Martin, by his opponents, was called "*Hominem vultu despicabilem, veste sordidum, crine deformem.*" Sulp. Sex. ch. vii. His editor refers to Concil. Tolet. iv. c. 40. and Isid. de Offi. iv. 4. Bingham lays needless stress upon what small distinction existed in different times.

midst of these he still continued to address words of consolation to all around, and to mitigate the general sorrow. "Surely, said he, these expressions of grief are ill-suited to your condition ; you are about to obtain a Bishop far better than me. What poor services I may have been able to bestow, he will greatly surpass, by contributing to your eternal advantage. I mean, not only in life, but even in death he will remain the blessing of your city." These words were understood by the inhabitants of Auxerre in later times, to be prophetic of the numerous miracles which were performed at the tomb of St. German. Then Amator requested he might be carried to the Church, intending to give up his spirit in the place where he had so often by day and by night, confessed the name of God. A great multitude accompanied him ; the clergy advanced first, and then followed the matrons. He had just time to be taken up to his pontifical throne, (which, probably, like in many Churches of the time, was placed at the extreme end of what we should now call the Chancel,)¹ before he breathed his last, at the third hour of the day, that is, about nine in the morning, according to our present reckoning, the hour appointed for the chief office of the Church, and that in which our blessed Lord is supposed to have been crucified. At the same time, says Constantius, our chief informer, a choir of Saints, to the wonder of all, was seen to descend, and amid hymns and praises, to carry up his spirit in the form of a dove to heaven. Many he adds, who had been present and lived in his own time, were ready to bear witness to the fact. Among these, says another writer before quoted, was Helena, a holy virgin famous for her virtues and mira-

¹ See Bingham's plan after Eusebius's Description.

cles, whose feast occurs on the 22nd of May.¹ His body after it had been washed, was conveyed to the same cemetery where Martha had been buried, and which was called, as we have seen, Mons Autricus or Mont-Artre. A circumstance which occurred some time after, contributed to render this spot still more famous, though it was already noted for the blessed remains it contained. But of this hereafter.

When the multitude who had accompanied the funeral procession were returning, they were met by a paralytic person borne on the shoulders of others. He had come from the province of Berri, which is at some distance from Auxerre, attracted by the fame of Amator's holiness, and with some hope of being healed by him. His infirmity had remained with him for thirty years. He appears to have been a man in affluence. His attendants, ignorant of the Bishop's death, inquired of the multitude concerning him, and learnt the nature of the procession they had seen. Thereupon the infirm man entreated that he might be allowed the use of the water, in which his body had been washed. German who had not yet resigned his office of Governor, though he had been ordained Priest,² struck with their faith, gave orders that the limbs of the paralytic man should be washed with the water. The command had scarcely been executed, when the sufferer recovered his strength and soundness.

It is also said, but the authority is less certain, that as the funeral procession was passing by the public gaol, the gates opened by miracle, the prisoners regained their liberty and joined in the train.

¹ Stephanus Africanus. 22nd May. Boll.

² "Tunc Presbyter;" subsequently he is called Magistrate.

Bede,¹ in his Martyrology, assigns the 6th of November, as the day of Amator's Deposition. Those of Usuard and the Latin writers, says Tillemont,² place his feast on the 1st of May, the day on which his body was solemnly translated, (and also apparently the day of his decease.)

In 870, says Hericus,³ who lived at that time, his remains were carried about, and the monks of St. German's monastery went in procession to request a relic of him. They obtained the fingers of the right hand, with which he had cut off German's hair, and carried them back to their own monastery, and deposited them in German's tomb. This meeting of the remains of two saints, so strangely connected with each other in life, was signalized by the miraculous cure of an infirm woman.

CHAPTER V.

German Bishop.

AFTER the death of Amator, there was but one voice in favour of the election of German in his place. The three distinct orders, the Clergy, Nobility, and People, including those who resided in the neighbourhood, as well as the inhabitants of Auxerre, joined in demanding the performance of the Divine order so lately communicated through Amator. But German could not bring himself to accept an office, for which he deemed he had had so little preparation. By his former charge

¹ He says Augustoduno, but this is probably a mistake for Antissioduro.

² Tillemont, t. xv. p. 11.

³ Vide Supra.

in the administration of the state, he had been thrown into circumstances so very unfavourable to the exercise of religious duties, that he needs must unlearn much that he knew, over and above the acquirement of what was indispensable for the episcopal functions. When the empire was in the gift of armies or factions, and tyrants were continually changing, involving often an entire revolution in the government of the provinces ; when court intrigues, and all the pernicious arts of designing men, occupied the chief attention of the officers of the republic, that conscientiousness and singleness of heart which German felt were necessary in an ecclesiastical ruler, were exposed to dangers almost unavoidable. He therefore determined to refuse the election which he foresaw, and brought with him a party to support him. But all was in vain. He failed in commanding the wonted submission of the people ; and a regular opposition was raised against him, not only by the mass of the people,¹ but by the nobles also, and even the former abettors of his own cause. Forced at last to accept the Bishopric, he soon showed that he was more fit for the office than he had supposed, and that the direction of Providence was signally manifested in the circumstances of the event.

Vocations are not to be lightly esteemed, because there may appear an insufficiency in the means to fulfil them. Humanly speaking, nothing could be more unfit for the conversion of nations, than the instrumentality of the fishermen of Galilee. But they were ordered to take no thought about what they should say, that is, not to shrink from their task, from ignorance of the means of discharging it ; “For the Holy Ghost, it is added, shall teach you all things.” “It is impossible,

¹ *Bellum civile indicitur potestati.* Const.

says Tillemont,¹ to conceive any thing more astonishing than this vocation of St. German, so contrary, as it should seem, to the rules of the Church. But when He who is the Master of all rules speaks, it is our part to worship Him, and receive His orders with humble submission. It may be said that St. Britius, who at that time governed the Church of Tours, was still more unfit for the Bishopric than St. German, and yet God called him by the mouth of the very St. Martin, whom he had offended when Deacon and Priest, much more grievously than St. German had St. Amator. God purified St. Britius, by dreadful persecutions, and St. German, by austerities unheard of in Gaul, and which the power of grace alone can enable to undergo. These, he concludes, are fully established by the sincerity of Constantius his Biographer."

German's accession to the Bishopric of Auxerre, may be assigned with tolerable certainty, to the 7th of July 418, A. D. He was apparently elected, as distinguished from consecrated, immediately after St. Amator's death, as we have just seen, and therefore on the 1st of May. About a month before, Amator had first secured him to the ministry of the Church and ordained him Priest, according to all probability, *per saltum*, that is, without the preparatory degrees.² But the delays occasioned by his own diffidence, and the necessity of getting three Bishops to attend at his consecration protracted the ceremony of his induction to the month of July.

The reader may be desirous to know what were the leading circumstances of the fortunes of the Roman

¹ Mémoires Eccl. t. xv.

² See Bingham. 2 B. ii. ch. sec. 4, also Euseb. B. vi. 43.

Empire when this event took place. Honorius was still Emperor of the West. He had again recovered the possession of Gaul through his able General, Constantius. That country had been distressed by civil war for many years. Maximus,¹ in 388, had given the example of laying hold of the imperial crown without any other title than ambition. The murder of Gratian, the lawful Emperor, by which he had secured his usurpation, was punished however subsequently by Theodosius the Great, who conquered him at Aquileia and put him to death. After him Eugenius, the creature of Arbozart, who durst not proclaim himself Emperor because he was not a Roman citizen, assumed the purple in Gaul, and was likewise vanquished and beheaded by Theodosius about 394. In the third place shortly before the time which we are considering, Constantine, a common soldier, who had been saluted Emperor in Britain, had passed over into Gaul, taken possession of it, removed the imperial residence from Treves to Arles, and had engaged successfully with the barbarians, was at last subdued by the General of Honorius and murdered on his road to Rome. Other tyrants² succeeded him for a very short time in Gaul, but Constantius soon put them down, and restored the greater part of that country to Honorius, the son of Theodosius. Some provinces in the West were conceded to the Gothic king Wallia

During these changes Rome had been taken and sacked

¹ See Anquetil, tom. i. and *Annales Alfordii ad annos ejusdem sæculi*. Gibbon, tom. iv.

² Their character is described briefly by Sidonius in these words, "In Constantino inconstantiam, in Jovino facilitatem, in Gerontio perfidiam, singula in singulis, omnia in Dardano crimina simul exsecrabantur." Ep. ix. B. v. p. 32.

by Alaric, the king of the Goths. This year, 418, Zozimus, the Pope, died, and was succeeded by Bonifacius. Zozimus himself had succeeded to Innocent, a pontiff remarkable for his opposition to the growing heresy of Pelagius. Two councils had been held in Innocent's time, about 416, against Pelagianism, one at Carthage, another at Milevum in Numidia, where St. Augustine of Hippo presided. Innocent had ratified the decrees of these councils, which had formally condemned the authors of the heresy. These circumstances are considered by the defenders of the Papal prerogative as decisive in favour of the claims of the Apostolic See ; they occurred only two years before German's elevation. The next year Pelagius had made a public abjuration of his errors in a letter to Innocent, the contents of which are the best explanation of the dangers with which his doctrines threatened the Church.¹ Zozimus, the next Pope, had been imposed upon by Celestius, the companion of Pelagius, a circumstance which some divines have exaggerated into an imputation of indulgence towards heresy, while Alford, a divine of another school, maintains, with some reason, that Zozimus proscribed the Pelagian heresy at the very same time. His successor Bonifacius, the same year 418, engaged Honorius to write a public letter to the Pretorian Prefect, to extirpate Pelagianism and banish the supporters of it for ever. The sentence was to extend over all the empire. To add one more prominent fact to this brief sketch, we may observe that St. Jerome was still alive, as well as St. Augustine. St. Chrysostom had died a few years before in banishment. The writings of these three fathers, perhaps the most cele-

¹ Vid. Apud Alford. Ad An. 417.

brated in history, were doubtless the study of the new Bishop, next to the Holy Scriptures, which he appears to have searched forthwith with the greatest diligence.

We have seen that when St. Amator ordained German in the Church before all the people, he invested him with the religious habit, as his Biographer calls it, that is, the monastic dress. From this circumstance some have thought that he became an actual monk.¹ But this seems to be a mistake. There was no monastery then at Auxerre : St. German was the first to institute one at a future period.² Nor did he ever become monk himself, though he continued to wear the dress of that profession during the thirty years of his Episcopate. This was no uncommon practice. St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, had always worn the monastic habit. But the office of Bishop was kept distinct from the character of monk.³ By the outward appearance, a stranger might not discover whether a man was an ecclesiastic, a monk, or a penitent, as is shown by a question put by Sidonius Apollinaris to a friend. But at this time the governors of the Church were zealous in keeping the clerical body distinct from the cœnobitic, the more so, as there was a growing tendency in the Western Church to fill the ecclesiastical ranks with men taken from monasteries at the expense frequently of adequate preparation, and of the order which distinguished the degrees. Hence in some sharp letters of Zozimus and Celestine, the monks are emphatically denominated by the term of laymen, which

¹ Among these, Alford, in his *Annals*.

² These points are satisfactorily explained in Boschius' *Comment.* Præv. ch. v. apud Bolland, 31 Jul.

³ Lib. iv. Ep. xxiv. p. 404.

indeed was fully applicable to them before St. Benedict's time.

The circumstances of German's elevation to the Bishopric of Auxerre are so striking, and, together with other instances somewhat similar, have given occasion to such discordant opinions, that it may not be out of place to compare one or two parallel accounts left to us by contemporary writers. It is unquestionably false to say with a modern writer, "that the election of Bishops had not the characteristics of a real institution, that it was destitute of rules, of permanent and legal forms, and abandoned to the chance of circumstances and passions."¹ It is perhaps nearer to the truth to say, that there existed a real standard of order, and a received body of apostolical canons, but that they were not as yet considered invariably obligatory, and were in some particulars often dispensed with in emergencies.² The history of St. Ambrose is well known. After the death of Auxentius, the Arian Bishop of Milan, the people, the Clergy, and the Bishops of the Province, had met in the cathedral to elect a successor. The confusion was very great, and the divisions of the Orthodox and the Arians impeded the decision. A violent tumult ensued, when Ambrose, the civil governor of Milan, arrived. He was not much above thirty years old. Having learnt the cause of the disturbance, he entered the cathedral, and addressed the people in order to pacify them. His appearance and manner pleased the multitude, and it is reported that a child screamed out in the Church, "Ambrose is Bishop."

¹ Guizot France, tom. i. Leçon 3.

² See Hallier. De Sacris electionibus et ordinationibus. P. ii. S. i. Ch. i.

The meeting was not dissolved before Ambrose was proclaimed Bishop with one consent.¹ What renders this election still more extraordinary than that of German is, that Ambrose was not yet a Christian, but only a Catechumen. He was then baptized, and eight days after consecrated.

Ambrose's election took place about fifty years before that of German. Sidonius Apollinaris relates a similar example which occurred about fifty years after. The Bishop of Bourges, in France, was dead, and the ardour of competitors and factions was so great, that the whole town was thrown into confusion.² Thereupon Sidonius, lately made Bishop himself of Clermont in Auvergne, and distinguished for his birth, wealth, eloquence and science, was requested by the inhabitants of Bourges to repair to their city to make choice of a successor for them. Sidonius took with him some other Bishops, and proceeded to Bourges. Having assembled the people and clergy, he pronounced a discourse to them in which he reviewed those classes of persons against whom objections might be raised. "A monk, he said, will be considered unequal to fulfil the double part of intercessor with God and civil magistrate ; and there are not wanting many among the people and clergy who entertain invidious prejudices against the whole order. Again, if I choose from the clergy, immediately jealousy and contempt will be excited. Should I decide for one invested with military offices and honours, what accusations of partiality to a profession through which I have myself passed !" He

¹ See Church of the Fathers. Hallier, P. ii. S. i. Ch. i. St. Paulin. Vita Ambrosii.

² Sid. Ap. B. vii. Lett. ix.

then proceeded to give the description of the person he thought fit to succeed to the Bishopric. He was a layman, he was even a soldier, he was married and had offspring ; but then he was a zealous friend of the Church, the defender of her rights, and he had built a temple to God at his own expense ; he was moreover of noble birth, in affluence, kind, charitable, mature in age and mind, and especially too modest to desire the sacred dignity, a circumstance which made him the more deserving. Such was Simplicius, who forthwith was consecrated Bishop of Bourges and Metropolitan of the Province.¹

Many other instances similar to these might be quoted, to show that German's election was not a solitary example. But after all, they were mere exceptions and irregularities, and indicative of that spirit of toleration and expansion with which the Church suffered deviations from her canons in cases of necessity. As well might it be said that there is no established form for Baptism, because in extreme emergencies the ministry of a layman is allowed to supply that of a clergyman, as that these exceptions prove the want of canonical rules in the ordinations of ecclesiastics. Different churches might have different customs on minor points, but in all essentials the consent was uniform in Christendom. It was embodied in what Pope Celestine calls the Decrees of the Fathers (*Decreta Patrum*), and was appealed to as *the Ecclesiastical Custom*.²

Modern philosophy does not appear to have exercised all its ingenuity as yet upon the period which we are considering, otherwise we might expect some clever

¹ See other parallel cases in Guizot's France. Leçon 3.

² Ep. ii. § 3. apud Labb. Concil. tom. iii. p. 482.

theory to prove that a transition like that of German from a high civil magistracy to a clerical office, was the effect, not of divine intervention, or of any desire to promote the welfare of the Church, but of mere fear and the pressure of worldly circumstances. Constantine the tyrant would be cited to show that the easiest way to escape the vengeance of enemies was to assume the clerical coat.¹ The words of Sidonius, who in the perils of civil war observed that the nobility had resolved to seek their safety in the ecclesiastical state or in banishment, would be appealed to with confidence. And among those whom in fact fear and policy had driven into the clergy, the illustrious saints whose examples edified the whole Church, would be indiscriminately ranked. Attempts of this kind have been made to rob the City of God in patriarchal times of her blessed succession of witnesses. Nor would it be more extraordinary if the transition of German were attributed to the growing ascendancy of the barbarians, the changeableness of Court intrigues, or the worldly advantage to be derived from a station which engaged the esteem of the people while the civil authorities daily lost their influence. However the subsequent life of German is a sufficient answer to such intimations, were they made, as we shall see in the following chapter.

¹ Vid. *Annals Alford*, ad Annum, 410-11.

CHAPTER VI.

German's character and mode of Life.

It is difficult to conceive any thing more surprising and sudden than the change which took place in German. St. Paul, whose conversion is the type of wonderful changes, yet was earnest, ascetic, strict from the very first.¹ He had always lived according to the straightest sect of his religion a Pharisee. But German had been surrounded with the luxury and comforts of the world, courted by all, accustomed to command not to serve, and lulled in the arms of domestic happiness. Like Jonah he might have "made himself a booth and sat under it in the shadow to see what would become of the city" of God. Instead of this, he at once girded up his loins and prepared to take an active part in the spiritual warfare of the Church. Let us attend to the account given by Constantius, his biographer. He immediately resigned his civil appointment, dismissed his numerous attendants, sacrificed the splendid and pleasant possessions of his wealth, gave away his substance to the poor, and enlisted himself in their company. His wife Eustachia became his sister. It is uncertain whether she continued to dwell under the same roof, or retired to a religious house. The circumstances of his future life seem to imply the latter, for he travelled much, and her presence on those occasions is not no-

¹ προς ὑποταγῶσιν τῶν μελλόντων πιστεῦειν. 1 Tim. i. 16.

ticed, nay, must have been noticed in some, had she kept him company. However there was nothing to share with him. His table was seldom spread for himself, his days were employed in the duties of his office, his nights were spent in prayer and meditation.¹

With regard to his austerities, much of course was concealed from the public gaze, as is remarked of our own George Herbert ; but though he ever strove to avoid observation, yet as a city built on a hill cannot remain hid, so the brightness of his sanctity shone through all reserve, and spread a glow over his least actions. What was ascertained may be briefly summed up as follows : From the day on which he began his ministry to the end of his life, that is, for the space of thirty years, he was so spare in his diet, that he never eat wheaten bread, never touched wine, vinegar, oil or vegetables, nor ever made use of salt to season his food. On the nativity and resurrection of our Lord alone he allowed himself one draught of wine diluted with water, so as to preserve little of its flavour. Meat was out of the question ; he lived more rigorously than any monk, and in those early times no meat was allowed to monks in France, except in the most urgent cases of debility and sickness.² What he did take was mere barley bread which he had winnowed and ground himself. First however he took some ashes, and, by way of humiliation, tasted them. Severe as was this diet, it appears almost miraculous when we are told that he never eat at all but twice a week, on Wednesdays and Satur-

¹ " Vitabat suorum Solatia." Const. again " Convivium jejunos pastor exhibuit."

² See Calmet, Règle de St. Benoît. tom. i. 564.

days, and in the evening of those days ; nay that generally he abstained entirely till the seventh day.¹

His clothing was the same in winter and in summer, simply the *cuculla* and the tunic. What these were in the fifth century we learn from Cassian, a contemporary writer.² The *cuculla*, he says, was a small hood for the head, ending in point and falling down over the neck as far as the shoulders. In process of time this dress changed very considerably. The *tunic* was a mere shirt, which the ancients wore next to the skin and generally without sleeves. Cassian describes the monks with linen tunics, which he calls *colobia*, the sleeves of which descended only to the elbow. But he is describing the monastic habit of the Egyptians, and it is probable that when the same pattern was adopted from them in Gaul, the tunic was made of wool or coarse stuff. It covered the whole body and reached to the feet. Under this however German wore the badge of the religious profession, the hair-cloth, (*cilicium*) which never left him. He seldom bought a new dress, but

¹ That this is the true sense of the passage is proved by another of the same author Constantius. B. ii. ch. 66. “Cujus in ediam septimus plerumque dies pane tantum hordeaceo recreabat.” See Bosch. Boll. ad locum Const.

² “Cucullis perparvis usque ad cervicis humerorumque demissis confinia, quibus tantum capita contegant, indesinenter utuntur diebus ac noctibus.” Quoted by Camlet, Regle de St. Benoît, ch. lv. tom. ii.

“Colobiis lineis induti quæ vix ad cubitorum ima pertingunt, nudas de reliquo circumferunt manus.” Ibid.

Cassian travelled into Egypt, and founded afterwards a monastic house at Marseilles, after the model of Egypt. On the subject of the Egyptian monks, see the abstract of Fleury, tom. v. Liv. 20. p. 20, &c. See also Liv. 24. p. 600, &c. See also Heliot, tom. i. p. 163.

wore the old till it was nearly in rags, unless perchance he parted with it for some person in distress whom he had no other means of relieving.

His bed was even more uninviting than his dress. Four planks, in the form of an oblong, contained a bed of ashes, which they prevented from being dispersed. By the continual pressure of the body they had become hard, and presented a surface as rough as stone. On this he lay with his hair-cloth alone, and another coarse cloth for a coverlet.¹ No pillow supported his head, his whole body lay flat on the painful couch. He did not take off his garment to sleep, and seldom even loosened the girdle or took off his shoes. Neither did he ever part with a leathern belt which fastened to his chest a little box containing the relics of the saints. This, his only treasure, he valued above all earthly things. The relics were those of all the Apostles and of different Martyrs. At a subsequent period he took some from them to deposit in the tomb of St. Alban, at Verulam, in Britain : and it was this little box which the Empress Placidia so eagerly desired when German died at Ravenna. His sleep was such as might be expected from these austerities : it was neither long, nor unin-

¹ "Sagulum." See Calmet, tom. ii. p. 268. Also Bosch. Boll. Not. ad § 75. "Sagulum ego indumentum hic intelligi nullum existimo sed lodicem seu stragulum quâ noctu obtectus dormiebat."

As there appears a slight inconsistency as the text of Constantius stands, viz. : "Stratum omne, *subjecto cilicio*, et superposito uno tantum sagulo, fuit.—Noctibus nunquam vestitum, raro cingulum, raro calceamenta detraxit;" we might almost suspect *cilicio* had been written for *silice*, alluding to the hard ashes. Lipoman, Surius, the Bollandists have however all *cilicio*.

terrputed. Frequently after the example of our Lord he would pass the whole night in prayer ; and it should seem that these holy vigils had a peculiar efficacy in his case, which manifested itself in the following mornings by miracles and extraordinary deeds. These midnight watchings were divided between the tears and groans of penitence and hymns of praise and intercessions. In this manner, says his biographer, as we have before remarked, did the blessed German expiate any past errors into which human infirmity may have led him, and set the example of a sudden and transcendent holiness.

According to the Apostolic precept he was "given to hospitality." His house was open to every one and he paid no regard to the quality of the visitor. Faithful to the lesson taught by our Lord Himself, he washed the feet of his guests with his own hands and then prepared a feast which all partook of but the ascetic German. It is often said at the present day that there is cowardice and want of faith in retiring from the world to avoid temptation, and that to bury religion in monastic seclusion is to perform but one part of the Christian Law which commands us to love our neighbours as ourselves. Here then German might obtain the approbation of modern objectors. He did not leave the world as far as outward things are concerned. His whole Episcopate was passed amid the tumult and concourse of men, with the exception of those hours he spent among the Brotherhood he instituted, as we shall see. He would fail however in satisfying them, in that he encouraged monastic retirement in others. Nor was it by contenting himself with smaller measures of strictness than a religious rule enforced, that he preserved his conscience spotless in the busy scenes of the world.

He lived like St. Anthony and St. Athanasius at the same time.

No distinct account has been left us of the personal appearance of German. All we know is that when his body was removed in the ninth century it was observed that he was of middle stature, and that he had a fine head of hair interspersed with white hairs.¹ In this form we are told he also appeared to a little girl whom he cured of dumbness after his death. As a general remark it may be said that his features were rendered squalid and emaciated by the severe fasts he endured,² while at the same time his countenance possessed a dignity which commanded universal respect.³ Dugdale informs us that in St. German's Priory in Cornwall there was a mutilated impression from the Seal of this monastery. The inscription was gone, but the area on one side represented a few faint traces of the figure of the Saint.

If it may be permitted to assign human reasons, where so much was superhuman, we should say German was naturally a healthy person and possessed a robust constitution. Other Saints, by austerities less great than his, were rendered infirm for life. St. Bernard never quite recovered from the effects of his early severities.⁴ Forced to be carried about in a carriage, he was subject to temporary weaknesses which greatly impeded his exertions. St. Basil⁵ again and St. Chrysostom lost the health of their body while the soul seemed to gather

¹ *Hericus de Miraculis*, C. v. B. i.

² *Constantius*, C. ii. B. ix. apud Surium.

³ *Ibid.* Ch. xxxiii.

⁴ *Neander's Life of St. Bernard.*

⁵ *Church of the Fathers*, p. 114 and 71.

fresh vigour for heavenly things.¹ “I cannot number, says the former, the various affections which have befallen me, my weakness, the violence of the fever and the bad state of my constitution.” German was not apparently subject to this trial. The only sickness we find he endured previous to his last illness was a temporary lameness, produced by a fall, when he sojourned in Britain. Like St. Martin of Tours, he could undertake long expeditions, and mix in the stir and noise of the crowd without inconvenience. All blessings are from God. Daniel was “fairer and fatter in flesh” than all the children which did eat the portion of the king’s meat, though he lived on pulse.² Perhaps German had not those particular inclinations and habits which needed the humiliation of bodily suffering. The pride of learning, intellect and wisdom, seem to have been checked often by these visitations. St. Paul had a thorn in the flesh, lest he should be too much exalted. St. Basil thought he owed much to some such affliction, in being weaned from the seductive philosophy of Athens.³ German was probably free from these allurements. He became profoundly learned in sacred science, insomuch, that St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, esteemed him the best guide for his own early studies, of all the teachers of Gaul. Yet he was ignorant of that passionate love for learning as such which seems to have devoured the minds of Origen and others.

It is to be regretted, together with the absence of any external description, that we have no definite account of his particular natural disposition, or of his acquirements. It is certainly interesting, if it is not instruc-

¹ Fleury, Lib. 21, p. 161.

² Daniel i. 15.

³ Serm. “De Libris Gentilium Legendis.”

tive, to learn what characteristics of a more earthly kind were combined with the heavenly virtues of Saints. And the observation is often made, that their example has more hold upon the imagination of the weaker brethren than that of our blessed Lord, for the reason, that they were liable to infirmity, and had tastes and feelings which showed them to be mere men. The want of such description, is perhaps to be attributed to the fact, that his biographer was not personally acquainted with him. He had certain means indeed of obtaining minute information, whether from the monks of Auxerre, who had continual opportunity of seeing him and conversing with him, or from those Bishops and men of education who attended him in his last days almost without intermission. But his account is a mere sketch ; and what seems important to one writer does not to another ; nay, different subjects of consideration occupy different generations ; at one time miracles, at another original characters. Then again, the style of Constantius is poetical, not philosophical, and style is indicative of the train of men's thoughts.

However, thus much appears. From the time of his ordination, he applied diligently to the study of the scriptures, and became so versed in theological matters, that he was considered among the Doctors of the time. St. Patrick spent many years under his tuition.¹ The learned suppose him to have committed to writing some of the fruits of his studies. But nothing has remained. His natural eloquence, his learning and practical wisdom, would mark him out as the fittest person to encounter the Pelagians in Britain, even in a synod of

¹ This is well authenticated from Probus, Jocelin, Hericus and others. See Stillingfleet Orig. p. 211. Ed. 8vo.

prelates, where so many were eminent for talent as well as piety. The event proved the justness of their choice. "His own arguments, we are told, were interspersed with revealed truth, and while he poured forth in torrents of eloquence the dictates of his conscience, he supported them always with the agreement of what he had read."¹ That there was in his language an elevation and wisdom, which are not indeed to be taken apart from his holy life, but which were the especial cause of the attention paid to his words, is manifest from the unwearied earnestness with which his last discourses were received by the six Bishops who waited upon him, among whom was the famous St. Peter, surnamed Chrysologus, one of the Doctors of the Church, and then Bishop of Ravenna.² The moral endowments which he evinced before his conversion distinguished him throughout. He retained all his firmness of purpose, courage in difficulties, command over his own will and that of others, presence of mind, penetration and prudence. But Christianity taught him resignation in suffering, charity which flowed over the least of his actions, forgetfulness of self in common danger, a spirit of reserve strongly contrasted with his former tendency to ostentation.³

¹ Const. ch. xxiii. Surius. B. i.

² Conf. also, ch. xxxiii. "Assidebant jugiter obsequentes sex venerabiles sacerdotes." "Dum cum Episcopis sermones conferret de religione."

³ "Sed semper secreti obumbratione notitiam suppressit." Ch. xvi. Surius.

CHAPTER VII.

St. German founds a Monastery.

ONE of the first acts which displayed German's zeal for the Church over which he was appointed, was also highly characteristic of the age in which he lived. The fifth century was the period which introduced the monastic system in Gaul and other Western countries. The East had got the start of a hundred years. German was the first to institute it at Auxerre. No positive declaration of the causes which led him to found a monastery has been transmitted, except that which was obvious enough to a Saint of those times, "the advancement of religion."¹ But it requires very little stretch of imagination to understand the chain of circumstances which gave the impulse. First, however, let us ascertain the fact itself.

At the north-east of Auxerre, separated by the river Yonne from the town itself, as it then was, he built the first monastery which had been seen in that district. It was dedicated to St. Cosmas and St. Damianus, Martyrs, and subsequently obtained the name of St. Germans. Afterwards it again changed its appellation and was called St. Marian, from one of the holy brethren who gave lustre to the institution. This is not the monastery which was celebrated as the Abbey St. Germans of Auxerre at a later period, the fame of which far eclipsed St. Marian. St. Marian, however, was the original foundation, and under its vaults the body of

¹ Ad profectum religionis. Const.

German himself reposed, until it was translated to the larger convent in the ninth century. It is now no longer standing, one column alone exists to testify the spot of its situation. But before it fell into ruin one might have seen the very cell of the good Bishop, where he retired when he visited the monastery. It could be entered only by a small opening, and in a kneeling posture. This place was the witness of his many prayers and mortifications. St. Allodius, probably the same who succeeded him in the Bishopric, was the first Abbot or Archimandrite, as he was called ; and after him St. Mamertinus was elected, the conversion of whom holds a prominent rank in the history of our Saint. These are the only Abbots known before the twelfth century ; when the order of the Premonstrants was established at St. Marian. After various changes, the monastery was finally destroyed by the Calvinists, in 1567, among the other acts of their sacrilegious fury.

We must now return to those causes which doubtless influenced German's mind, and which will furnish the most satisfactory explanation to be obtained concerning the rule and discipline of the new monastery.

There were at this time three principal religious houses in France, that of Marmontier, near Tours, instituted by St. Martin, that of St. Victor, at Marseilles, founded by Cassian, and that of Lerins, an island to the south of France, where St. Honoratus retired. Which of these was the model of that at Auxerre ? Not Marmontier, because it had scarcely any rule at all in its origin. Lerins, on the other hand, in process of time adopted the constitutions of Cassian as well as St. Victor. The rule of Cassian which he established at Marseilles was that which attracted the chief notice, and we shall

see that there were many associations which would particularly recommend it to German. But we must take up the subject somewhat higher.

Enmity to institutions as well as to men and persuasions is an active principle which exercises the human ingenuity in the discovery of everything which tells against the devoted object. But love is one of far greater energy, as it never faileth, "and endureth all things ;"¹ it is ever ardent and indefatigable in the support of the cause it has espoused. Much, then, has been written to weaken the foundations of monasticism, but much more has been written for the establishment of its claims. Indeed, if any plausible work has been composed to throw discredit upon it, the labours of love have furnished apparently the chief materials ; and as heretics learn even the history of heresy from the Church, the enemies of the cœnobitic life have gained their information from its very advocates. This persuasion may afford sufficient ground for the view here taken of its origin.²

Four modifications of the monastic system are observable in the early ages. The ascetics, properly so called, are its first representatives. They existed in the times of the Apostles ; nay, they were always in the Church, under the Judaic dispensation, before the Christian. Celibacy, fasting, prayer, silence, watching, and mortification, were the practice of their profession. It does not appear that in the earliest times of Christianity they separated from the general community. The Church itself, when compared with the rest of the

¹ 1 Corinth. 13.

² See Fleury. Discours. Hist. Eccl. Héliot Discours. préliminaire.

world, was a monastery. And while the fervour of the whole body countenanced strictness and austerity, separation was superseded. When the numbers of Christians increased, and all ranks, professions, and pursuits acknowledged the standard of the cross, the temptations of the world entered into the Church's bosom. This was the signal for the first general retreat. The hermits, or anchorites, forthwith fixed their abode in the deserts. Nor did their behaviour meet with any disapprobation. They were called the people of God in a special sense, their example was professed from the pulpit to the multitude, and their prayers were allowed to have a peculiar efficacy for the rest of the world.

Such were the two first stages of the monastic spirit. When the hermits had filled the deserts, they began to draw near to each other, and to fix their habitations or cells in close vicinity to each other. These religious societies abounded in Egypt during the fourth century. They resembled little cities, where each man had his own house, and all met, morning and evening, to pray together. St. Martin's monastery, at Tours, was at first nothing else than a community of this kind. Finally, in the midst of these, arose in Egypt the fourth class of monks, those which were destined to prevail—the Cœnobites. They cast all their substance into one common stock, assembled under one roof, conformed to one rule, and submitted to one superior. The Abbot, or Archimandrite, thus obtained a distinct position. After this model have all future monastic institutions been framed, though there were in the fourth and fifth centuries some characteristics which do not exist at present.¹ There seems to be reason in the

¹ Guizot. France.

remark of a modern historian, that a principle of liberty was the basis of monasteries at their origin. No obligation of perpetual residence, other than that of decency, obtained. A set of devout persons congregated to practise a rule of life impracticable in the world ; but they were not, at least in the west, bound by vows before the sixth century, when St. Benedict founded his order. There were even instances when those who had attained a high degree of perfection retired from their monastery to live the life of hermits. Another prominent feature of the institution was, that monks were regarded as laymen, and had actually few among them who were ordained. Like other classes of men distinct from the clergy, they were subject to the same kind of episcopal jurisdiction ; nor had they for a long time any appointed priests for themselves, but were members of the diocese and parish in which they lived, and attended one common church with the rest of the people. Many reasons, however, would have, and in fact, did supervene, to require peculiar ministers for themselves, without recurring to the invidious motive of vieing with the secular clergy, which is assigned by some. Still it is manifest that till the tenth century the monastic houses were never emancipated from the episcopal rule. In 451, a few years after the foundation of German's monastery, the following canon was enacted by the council of Chalcedon. "Let those who have sincerely and in truth adopted the solitary life, be honoured as is just. But whereas some, who are in appearance and name monks, throw confusion into the civil and ecclesiastical affairs, by wandering into towns, and attempting to establish of their own accord monasteries, it is decreed that no one shall build or found a monastery or a chapel, without

the sanction of the Bishop of the city. Let the monks in every city and country be subject to the Bishops, live quietly, apply themselves to fasting and prayer, and remain on the spot where they have made renunciation of the world. Careless of external things, let them continue in their seclusion, unless the contrary be ordered by the Bishop of the place for some necessary work." Allusion is here made to the Sarabaites and Messalians, fanatics, who, under pretence of strictness, committed many excesses, and were generally reprobated by good men. The authority of the Bishop was thus positively declared, while the honour due to the monastic body was sanctioned by the same decree. At that time, no exception to episcopal rule was claimed by any appeal to the Pope. If we may attribute partiality to the see of Rome, it inclined certainly to the side of the clergy against the monks. There are angry expressions on record, of Pope Celestine, who lived about this very time. They were called forth by the great tendency of the age to escape from ecclesiastical obedience, and by the excesses of fanaticism. The discipline and order of the hierarchy were the great object at which the Church of Rome aimed in the fifth century. And to this, not to any settled disapprobation of the system, must be attributed the occasional rebukes which the Popes directed against the monks. At Rome, as well as in the rest of Christendom, religious houses had been established, and after the first impression of strangeness had rapidly passed away, obtained the same favour as elsewhere.¹

¹ The passages alluded to by Guizot, in his endeavour to establish the contrary opinion, can hardly be said to make for him; the opposite inference would be best drawn from them, especially when compared with others of the same writers.

Monasticism was introduced into the West in the following manner. In 340, St. Athanasius, during the troubles occasioned by the Arians, came to Rome, and there made known the practices of Antony and other Egyptian monks.¹ Convents were established forthwith in that city. St. Eusebius, of Vercelli, carried out the same plan in other parts of Italy, and soon after Milan followed the example.² Hence St. Martin issued to found a monastery at Tours, as we have seen. Two thousand persons in process of time are said to have congregated under his discipline.³ But no fixed rule such as afterwards was instituted, determined all their actions. Sulpitius Severus, the biographer of St. Martin, describes their habits after this manner :⁴ “ St. Martin made himself a monastery about two miles out of the city. So secret and retired was the place, that he did not miss the solitude of the desert. On one side it was bounded by the high and precipitous rock of a mountain, on the other the level was shut in by the river Loire, which makes a gentle bend. There was but one way into it, and that very narrow. His own cell was of wood. Many of the brethren made themselves dwellings of the same kind, but most hollowed out the stone of the mountain which was above them. There were eighty scholars (at that time) who were under training after the pattern of their saintly master. No one had aught his own ; all things were thrown into a common stock. It was not lawful as to most

¹ See Giesler. Church Hist. Monastic System.

² Mabillon Acta, S. S. Ord. Ben. Præfat. § 7.

³ Hélot. Discours prélim. and tom. v. p. 61.

⁴ Vid. Transl. Church of the Fathers, and compare the original. Ed. Octav. Lugd. p. 498, 500, 517, 516, 541, 551, 566 ; the whole of the first dialogue.

monks to buy or sell any thing. They had no art except that of transcribing, which was assigned to the younger ; the older gave themselves up to prayer. They seldom left their cell, except to attend the place of prayer. They took their meal together after the time of fasting. No one tasted wine except compelled by bodily weakness. Most of them were clad in camel's hair ;¹ a softer garment was a crime, and what of course makes it more remarkable is, that many of them were accounted noble, who, after a very different education, had forced themselves to this humility and patience, and we have lived to see a great many of them *Bishops*.”²

There was indeed much in this institution which would influence the feelings of German, but it was as yet too indefinite to be used as a model for his own, and something more to the purpose had been introduced in his time by Cassian, from which Marmoutier itself may afterwards have borrowed. Cassian, according to some, was a Scythian by birth ; but more probably he was a native of Provence, in France. In his early youth he went to Palestine, and then became a monk, at Bethlehem. After this, with one companion, he visited the deserts of Egypt, and familiarised himself with the habits of the chief orders of solitaries.³ He then went to Constantinople, was ordained deacon by St. Chrysostom, and passing through Rome, came into France, and stopped at Marseilles, where he received the Priesthood and built a monastery in honour of St. Peter and St. Victor the Martyr. This

¹ See the print in Héliot, tom. i. p. 160.

² Sacerdotes. That this is the sense of the word in the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, see Ducange ad vocem.

³ Héliot, tom. v. p. 154. Fleury Hist. Eccl. Lib. xxiv.

was in 409. He also founded a convent for women. He introduced the customs of the Egyptian monks ; and his rule, which he explained in his books concerning monastic institutions, became the chief pattern in France till the reform of St. Benedict. The most famous monastery of all, namely, that of Lerins, which St. Honoratus founded a year after that of St. Victor, in 410, certainly borrowed many of its regulations from Cassian, who began to write about 420. And with this establishment German would have been well acquainted from a variety of sources, among which was his intimacy with St. Hilary of Arles, who had been Abbot of Lerins, and St. Lupus of Troyes, once a monk of the same place, and the brother of the famous Vincentius Lirinensis.

Although the works of Cassian convey the most definite idea to be obtained of the rise of Monasticism in Gaul, yet the introduction of Egyptian customs there described naturally was attended with some changes, owing to the climate and different education of the natives. Moreover it is the remark of the writer himself, that no uniform plan was carried out in any country, and that there were nearly as many forms and rules as there were cells and monasteries. And such was the state of things till St. Benedict, in the sixth century, brought in a more perfect code. Till then, the superior's will was sometimes the law ; sometimes custom and tradition authorized any particular form ; again sometimes a few statutes were written. The unanimity and consent of the monks was the pledge of their obedience and conformity, as perhaps would be the case were the monastic system reviving in our own country. There was, so to say, but one order of monks at the time, all subjected

to one main law, renunciation of the world, and ascetic life. Nevertheless a type existed of all the institutions of the fourth and fifth centuries ; namely, the Egyptian cœnobites. St. Basil adopted their usages in Asia Minor, St. Athanasius brought them into repute in Italy, and Cassian established them in Gaul. The principal alterations which were here made regarded the food and clothing of the Western monks. The natives of Gaul could not content themselves with the very scanty allowance of the Egyptians, nor could they endure the cold of a northern climate without additional covering.¹ “We cannot, said Cassian, be content with simple socks, and with one tunic, on account of the severity of the winter, and so small a hood as the Egyptians wear, would provoke laughter rather than edify the people.” Moreover, the practice of manual labour was frequently laid aside, and reading and writing substituted. Thus, under St. Martin, the monks had been taught to transcribe books. Lerins it is well known was the seat of learning and literary occupations. Another deviation not to be overlooked, was the use recommended by Cassian of daily prayers in common, after the example of some monks in Palestine. For whereas the Egyptians only assembled for nocturns and vespers, other eastern monks observed the hours also of tierce, sext, and nones.²

It would exceed the limits of these pages to enter into any further details concerning the customs of these religious institutions. The spirit however which presided over them may be in part understood by the fol-

¹ The saying was : “Edacitas in Græcis gula est, in Gallis natura.” Sulp. Sever.

² Fleury Hist. Eccl. Lib. xxiv.

lowing sketch of the Egyptians extracted from Cassian's works.¹ "They came together, he says, to pray at evening and night, and each time recited twelve psalms, according to the instructions given, as they believed, to their forefathers, by an angel who came and sang eleven psalms among them, with a prayer after each, and then added a twelfth, with a hallelujah, after which he disappeared. They read also two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and one out of the New ; except on Saturdays, Sundays, and the Easter season, at which times they only read the New Testament, at one lesson the Epistles or the Acts, at the other the Gospels. After each Psalm, they prayed standing, with their hands extended, then prostrated themselves for an instant, and arose immediately for fear of falling asleep, copying the motions of him who directed the prayers. A profound silence reigned in the assembly however large it might be. One voice alone was heard, namely, that of the Chanter who recited the Psalm, or of the Priest who said the Prayer. The Chanter stood upright ; the rest were seated on low stools, because their fasting and labour rendered them unfit for a standing posture. If the Psalms were long, they divided them, desirous not to recite much and rapidly, but to pay great attention. The signal for prayer was given by a horn, and one was appointed to awake the brethren for the nightly prayer. On Saturdays and Sundays they assembled at nine in the morning for the Holy Communion."²

¹ See Fleury Hist. Eccl. Lib. xx., and more at length, Cellier Aut. Eccl. tom. xiii.

² It does not appear that Saturday was ever kept up in the West, as it was in the East, with that reverence which the Jewish Sabbath had taught the Eastern nation.

CHAPTER VIII.

St German and St. Mamertinus.

ONE day, as German was coming out at the door of the monastery he had founded, he was met by a young man who had lost the sight of one of his eyes and the use of an arm. The young man, on perceiving him, fell down at his feet and did obeisance.¹ German had been apprized by divine communication of the visit, and when the stranger earnestly entreated his assistance, he answered, "Be not afraid, but have confidence," and stretching out his hand, raised the suppliant and kissed him on the chin. But the stranger drew back, exclaiming, "Far be it from thee, O man of God ; my lips as yet are not purified from the embrace of the devil's altars." "Nay," returned German, "I am assured that this very night thou hast been purged from this pollution." The Bishop then took him by the hand, and led him through the monastery into the cell which he had reserved for himself, whenever he came to the place.² He there made him sit down, and questioned him on the cause of his arrival. Not satisfied with the account he received, he rebuked the young man for concealing some important circumstance, adding that he had been acquainted already with every thing. He afterwards conducted him to the town of Auxerre, and entered the church, where the clergy and a number of laymen were assembled.

¹ Quem procidens in terram adoravi."—Const.

² See Hericus de Mir. 22.

In the hearing of all, he then desired the stranger to give a complete 'relation of all that had happened to him. Whereupon the young man, who perceived nothing could be concealed, addressed the multitude in the following manner :—¹

“My name is Mamertinus : I was a servant of Idols, and an ardent worshipper of Jupiter and the rest of the false gods, insomuch that it was with difficulty I could be dragged away from their images. On one occasion, while I was paying my wretched veneration to their statues, suddenly I lost the sight of one of my eyes, and one of my hands withered up. Supposing I had incurred their displeasure by some transgression, I poured forth abundant tears of penitence, and implored their forgiveness. As I was one day returning to the temple of the gods to repeat my lamentations, I was met by one Sabinus, who was clad in the habit of a monk, and wore the tonsure. After we had exchanged some words, he asked the cause of my affliction, and the religion I professed. “The religion of Jupiter, Mercury, and Apollo and the other gods,” was my answer, “and I am hastening to obtain absolution and soundness of body at their altars.” “You err,” replied Sabinus, “because you know not the truth, and this is the real cause of your sufferings. Had those gods whom you worship any knowledge and understanding, they would not remain blind, dumb, deaf, void of smelling, motionless, mutilated, or bound with iron and lead, as we see them. Of them does the Holy Scripture speak when it says,² ‘They have mouths and speak

¹ Mamertinus published the account himself, and it is inserted in Constantius's *Life of St. German*.

² Ps. 115.

not ; eyes have they and see not ; they have ears and hear not ; noses have they and smell not.' And with regard to their worshippers, the same Psalmist proceeds to say, 'They that make them are like unto them, and so are all such as put their trust in them.' Consider the punishment prepared for worshippers of statues, and then apply it to yourself. If you would recover your sight and touch, follow my injunctions. In the Church of Auxerre there is a man of eminent holiness, called German, (whose minister I am among the clergy.) Christ manifests himself to him as it were face to face, and the most wonderful cures are performed by him. Leave your idols, and go seek him there."

"I thanked Sabinus and desired him to direct me to the Bishop he thus commended. Pleased at my readiness he guided me to an elevation called Mons Matogenes, and thence showed me my road in the plain beneath. When he had left me I proceeded with some alacrity. And though the rain had not ceased to fall from sun-rise to sun-set, and my garments were soaked, nevertheless I continued boldly my journey. About five o'clock, however, as the night was drawing on, the rain increased with such violence, and the darkness became so profound, that I was unable to discern my way. It was with difficulty I arrived at the Cemetery.¹ The rain fell in torrents and repeated lightnings rent the clouds. I was in great anxiety to find a place of refuge. At last, by the constant glare of the lightning, I discerned a small cell in which there was a tomb. Having entered, and finding nothing else to rest myself upon, I laid me down on the tomb itself, igno-

¹ The Mons Autricus mentioned before.

rant of the remains it covered. Hardly had I entered, when a sudden light, equal to that of the day, shone through the cell. Not curious about the cause of it, I placed my little basket under my head, my staff at my side, and fell fast asleep.

“The thunder awoke me soon after, and lo ! I beheld at the entrance of the cell a young man in white and glittering garments. Struck with awe at the apparition, I turned myself round and lay flat upon the tomb. Prompted by fear, I gave vent to this prayer : “O God of the Christians, whom German doth serve in holiness, and who hast granted him that virtue which I am about to seek, deliver me from the dread which has seized my mind.” While I thus prayed, the young man at the door exclaimed in a voice full of the sweetest melody : “Holy Corcodemus, holy Corcodemus, Levite of Christ.”¹ When he had uttered these words, an answer came from the tomb : “I know who thou art, and hear thy voice ; tell me, I pray thee, brother Florentinus, what wilt thou with me ?” Florentinus replied : “Rise up quickly. The blessed Bishop Peregrine,² with the rest of his company, are assembled in the Church to perform their vigils. St. Amator desires thou wilt also come to their meeting.” “Nay, beloved brother, returned Corcodemus, return to the blessed Bishop and give him this message : I am not able to leave this cell to-night, because I am entertaining a stranger ; there is a nest of savage animals about the place who are only waiting for my departure to devour

¹ The Levites under the Judaic Law being inferior to the Priests, the term would apply to the Deacons under the Christian Dispensation.

² Peregrine the first Bishop of Auxerre. See above.

him. May God not deprive me of the benefit of your nightly office. There are two Sub-deacons,¹ my fellows, besides me, Alexander and Jovian, and Jovinianus is Lector. Report this, I pray thee, to the holy Bishops."

"The young man then retired. The mysterious nature of their discourse made my blood run cold. Sleep, however, soon regained my wearied limbs. Sometime before daybreak, I thought I again saw the young man at the entrance of the cell. He called to Corcodemus, saying: "The holy Bishops, Peregrine and Amator, before they separate, intend to celebrate a Votive Mass,² and have sent me to invite thee to come and fulfil thy appointed ministry.⁵ If thou art anxious for thy guest's safety, Alexander can relieve thee. But they request thee to bring Jovian the sub-deacon, and Jovinian the Lector." After this, the tomb opened, and there came forth a man of beautiful appearance clad in garments of the whitest wool. He left the cell and found at the door three others dressed in white, whom he saluted and called by their respective names. Then he addressed Alexander: "Peregrine and Amator have commanded me to go to them, do thou preside in this cell to guard the stranger from the savage reptile, with her crew of seven."

¹ Hence it appears that the Sub-deacons were a proper substitute for the Deacons at ordinary offices. But for the Mass, it was necessary the Deacon should be present, as is shown a little below.

² i. e. "The Eucharist performed out of the usual time by voluntary impulse.—See Ducange *ad vocem*. One might conjecture it originated in the expression of our Lord: "With desire I have desired to eat this supper with you."

³ Corcodemus had been Deacon in his lifetime, as was before shown.

“Afterwards I thought in my vision that the blessed Deacon took me by the hand, saying, “Come thou also, stranger, to the Mass.” We then went together to the Church, where I beheld around the altar five persons standing, dressed in splendid robes. I asked Corcodemus the names of those who ministered at the altar. He answered: “He that is standing in the middle is the Bishop and Martyr, St. Peregrine,¹ with whom I myself was sent from Rome by command of Pope Sixtus.² The two persons at his right hand are Amator and Marcellianus, both Bishops, and those at his left Elladius and Valerianus, all which succeeded St. Peregrine in their turn.”³ The Deacon then left me and advanced towards them. Then I thought I heard St. Amator speak to the Deacon, saying:⁴ “Enjoin silence, Brother, that undisturbed we may perform our office, for our brother Peregrine is in haste to return to Baugy,⁵ and on his account we must celebrate the Sacrifice somewhat earlier.”⁶

“Silence was then proclaimed and the Catechumens’ Dismissal announced. In the mean while I remained in secret awe at the novelty of the mystery. Not daring to advance to the place where the Mass was celebrated, I stood where the Deacon had left me. Then St. Pere-

¹ See a previous chapter.

² Sixtus II. in the middle of the third century. Vid. Suprà.

³ Hence it appears the middle of the altar was the chief place, it is here assigned to the Founder.

⁴ It was usual for one of the minor clergy, before the service of the Eucharist, to order the Catechumens to retire, as they were not allowed to be present at the mysteries. Stilling. 229.

⁵ Or Boüy, in Burgundy, where Peregrine had been buried. See Chap. III.

⁶ “Consummare Sacrificium.”

grine questioned Corcodemus about me. "He is my guest, said the Deacon, in order to protect him I refrained from attending upon you before." After this I was brought up into their presence. My whole appearance was different from theirs : they were dressed in white robes and I was in black. While I was musing on this difference, a voice addressed by one of the bishops to Corcodemus, resounded in my ears. "Separate the stranger from our assembly, and drive him from the Church ; he is unworthy to participate in this ordinance of grace, for he is a servant of idols." The Deacon was going to obey, when I fell at his feet and used these entreaties : "I pray thee, friend of God, to intercede for me with the Bishops, that they may have pity on me and break asunder the bonds of demons which shackle me." I was then presented to them, and Corcodemus received orders to place his hand upon my head.¹ After a second Imposition of hands from the Deacon, the Prelates instructed me in the duties of my condition and the ceremonies which I might assist at. Then they enjoined my guide to conduct me back to his cell and send me at day-break to German, whose office it was to impart spiritual grace to me. We then retired.

"Before we entered the cell, I thought I fell down at the feet of the Deacon, and desired him to tell me how many years had passed since he came to rest in it. "After the martyrdom of the blessed Peregrine,² on

¹ The Catechumens were not blessed by the Bishop but by the Deacon, Confirmation being a subsequent ordinance for the baptized.—Conf. Newman's Arians, p. 49.

² St. Peregrine's martyrdom was May 16, during the persecution of Diocletian. Some, however, place it under the Decian persecution, nearly fifty years before, erroneously as it appears from Tillemont, tom. iv. Mem. p. 481.

the third day of the same month, but not till some years had elapsed, did I leave this world to meet the Lord. I and my brothers had wished to be partakers of his sufferings, inasmuch as we had been entrusted with the same Commission.¹ But not long after an Emperor was created,² distinguished for his Christian profession, who put an end to the persecution, opened again all the Churches, and appointed orthodox Bishops. We thus failed in our desires. My companions were Marsus the presbyter, Alexander and Jovian. Here they buried me. They afterwards, as I learnt by divine intimation,³ died as Confessors of the Faith. Jovinian, however, the Lector, by God's permission, obtained the crown of Martyrdom."⁴

"All these things seemed to take place in my sleep. On my awaking, immediately the cock crew.⁵ Remembering the circumstances of the vision, I made the Sign of the Cross on my forehead, as I had been instructed, and lying prostrate on the sepulchre, prayed in this manner with tears in my eyes : "O Lord God of Israel, who dwellest on high and beholdest all things below, and considerest from afar great things ; beside whom there is no God ;⁶ thou who didst visit this

¹ Of converting Gaul. See Chap. III.

² Constantine the Great.

³ Comp. August. "de Curâ pro mortuis gerendâ."

⁴ Concerning these Saints, the most accurate account is to be found in Tillemont, Mem. vol. iv. p. 480.

⁵ The crowing of the cock is an incident which is mentioned significantly by writers of this period, as bearing a mystical reference to repentance.

⁶ These Biblical expressions are probably the colouring of Mamertine after his conversion ; or he may have been instructed in the doctrines of Christianity before that event. Vid. Bolland. ad locum Const.

earth to recover the human race, and didst abide among men ; by whose merciful direction I this night, unworthy as I am, have learnt the secret of my salvation : grant that I may without delay be brought into the presence of German, towards whom I have been so far guided." I then rose up, and turned my eyes towards the Basilica,¹ where I beheld a large light which spread within and around it. At the same time a voice issued in chants and hymns. I stopped to listen. The strain which first broke on my ears was : "Let them all be confounded that adore carved images and glory in their idols." The next was : "Save thy servant, O God, who trusteth in thee." The third, "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered."² On hearing this, I prostrated myself seven times on the tomb and prayed : "O God of the holy Corcodemus, receive him that hasteneth to Thee, and disappoint me not in my hope ; by Thy care and favour have I been brought to this place, where I have learnt the error of my ways." I rose again and turned towards the Church, when, lo ! another strain suited to my wants : "The Lord hear thee in the day of tribulation, the name of the God of Jacob defend thee." Strengthened by these sounds, I fell down a third time in prayer ; on rising, I found the light had disappeared. I had learnt the mysterious virtue of the Sign of the Cross, which I repeated on my forehead. At last the day returned, and having again crossed myself several times, and given thanks to my saintly host, I hastened

¹ The Church built by Amator at the spot where the house of Ruptilius stood. See Ch. iii.

² These were, the Antiphons sung at the end of the Psalms, probably.

to find my future guide and director. I enquired where Bishop German lived, and was told that to-day he was not in the town, but at a Monastery which he visited very often by passing the river in a little boat. I then asked the way to it, and proceeded thither ; having stopped a little at the entrance, suddenly the Bishop came out, who, to my astonishment, was acquainted with my vision, and reproached me with endeavouring to conceal the circumstance of the serpents which lay in wait for me at the sepulchre."

When Mamertinus had finished his account, the whole assembly were filled with joy, and blessed God, saying : "Thanks be to Thee, O God, because Thou had foreordained this vessel of election for Thyself before the foundation of the world, in order to manifest in him the greatness of Thy power to all and without end." The Bishop then led him to the place where Remission of Sins was granted,¹ and having blessed the water as the custom of the Church was, he baptized him according to the usual rites. Mamertinus then addressed German : "My Lord, he said, inasmuch as you have healed me in my inmost soul, restore, I pray you, the members of my body, give me back my sight and my hand." German answered, "Dost thou believe that I can perform this for thee ?" "I do believe, and for this purpose do I seek your assistance." German then took oil, and having made the Sign of the Cross on the eye and hand of Mamertinus, restored them to their former condition. The people immediately began to praise God for the works He accomplished through His servant.

¹ The Baptistery was often in ancient times separate from the Church, as is shown by the plan in Bingham. (*quod vide.*)

German then desired them to accompany him to the place where Mamertinus had lodged, to look for the serpent and her crew. When they arrived at the spot, prayer was offered up, and Mamertinus showed the cell and the tomb where he had had the vision. The Bishop ordered the stone to be removed ; eight serpents were found under it, one of which exceeded the rest in size. This was the mother. She raised her head and stared upon all, but especially German. "Thou wicked serpent, said he, dost thou still cleave to the heel of the human race, and dost thou dare after thy crime and defeat,¹ stretch thy folds over the limbs of the venerable Deacon Corcodemus ? As the Lord liveth, thou deservest death with all thy tribe. But since thou hast obeyed the Deacon, and hast not injured his guest, depart untouched and avoid henceforth the abode of man. Let the forest and desert be thy dwelling, do hurt to no one on thy way. Not I, but Christ, through me, charges thee." The serpent forthwith, says the writer of these facts, as if burdened with the mass of her iniquities, bowed the head and unfolding her long back, departed, and was followed by the rest. On seeing the vast size of the beast, all fled in terror ; German however remained motionless, and reproved them for their want of faith. The serpent, we are informed, was seven cubits in length.

After this, the chapel of the blessed Deacon Corcodemus, which from the thickness of the briars had been known to none, became the resort of all devout

¹ *Prævaricatio* and *Devictio*. The latter word is found in Tertullian for "victory." Possibly *Devinctio* may here be the proper reading, i. e. "binding," Satan being bound by the triumph of the Cross. See *Forcellinus ad vocem*.

persons, who studiously carried thither their voluntary offerings of piety.¹

Mamertinus gave himself up to the monastery of German with such ardour that he never left its enclosure without command of his Bishop or his religious brethren. His holy life and divine knowledge became so conspicuous, that on the death of Alodius,² the first Abbot, he was appointed to take his place, and governed the monastery till about 468. He died near that time on the 21st of April.

The days on which the memory of the Saints mentioned in this chapter are honoured at Auxerre, are as follows, according to the Martyrology of that town, published in 1751.³ Peregrine, on the 16th May ; Marcellianus, 13th May ; Eladius, or Helladius, 8th May ; Valerianus, or Valerius, 7th May ; Amator, 2nd May ; Corcodemus the Deacon, 18th May ; Florentinus, 27th Sept. ; Alexander the Sub-deacon, 4th Feb. ; Jovinianus the Lector, 5th May ; Jovianus the Sub-deacon, not known ; Alodius, 28th Sept. ; Mamertinus, 21st April.

¹ Culturam promeruit. Cellulæ votivam gerentes devotionem.

² Alodius is the name in the Martyrol. Antissiodorensē, not Alogius. It is uncertain whether Alodius or Alogius was the same as the Bishop of Auxerre of that name.

³ See Tillemont, tom. iv. 480, &c., with respect to the chronology and acts of these Saints. See also Notes to Const. by Boschius, Bollandist.

CHAPTER IX.

German's First Miracles.

WE have just seen that Mamertinus recovered the use of his sight and touch, by the instrumentality of German ; the following pages will record a series of miracles, which finished only with his death, and among which some were of the most astonishing nature. It has been remarked that ecclesiastical miracles are of a character very different from that of Scripture miracles ; allowing the truth of the remark, still it seems more applicable to the four first centuries of the Church than to the fifth ; and again, to public miracles, which affect the Church in general, than to those which rather regard individuals. The miracles of German, as will be observed, bear in many cases a strong resemblance to those of our Lord and His Apostles. They are not less striking in the power they evince, the effects they produce, or the publicity with which they were performed. If the consciousness of the agent be a prominent feature in the miracles of Scripture, it is not less so in those of German and others of the same period. Of course this consciousness rested, as in the Apostles' case, not on any feelings of self-sufficiency, but on faith in Christ's merits and power. Thus we have seen that German sometimes thought it right to declare that, "Not he himself, but Christ through him, gave the charge."¹ Among the earliest of his miracles is the following :—

¹ See last Chapter.

There was a man of a highly respectable character called Januarius. When the governor of the province made his round of visits, Januarius had to collect the tax-money, and carry it to the treasury. Prompted once by the vicinity of Auxerre, he deviated a little from his straight course to see German. In the meanwhile, he lost the tax-bag. It happened that a man afflicted with an evil spirit had found it, and absconded with it. Januarius, upon discovering his loss, was thrown into great alarm, and filled the town with his enquiries. When all failed, he ventured to require the restitution at the hands of the Bishop, as if he had committed the bag to him. Others would have received the charge with contempt. But German submitted at once to the responsibility, and promised in God's name to restore the money. It was the Sabbath day ; that is, Saturday. German caused the town to be searched with the greatest diligence, but in vain. Three days elapsed—no clue appeared. The tax-gatherer, in tears, pleaded the punishment of death which impended over him. German exhorted him to patience and confidence. Thereupon, he ordered one of those who were possessed with devils to be brought to him. By a strange coincidence, the author of the theft was the first introduced. German examined and questioned him closely, told him that the crime, (whoever had committed it,) could not remain concealed, and adjured the enemy of mankind to disclose the fact. No confession could be extorted as yet. The Bishop then left his house, and proceeded to the church, to celebrate Mass.¹

¹ This would be on Tuesday, if it was three days after Saturday. In fact, every day this office seems to have been performed.

After he had entered, accompanied by the multitude, he gave the usual solemn salutation¹ to the congregation, and fell prostrate to the ground. While he was praying, the prisoner of Satan, who had been brought to the Church, was seen to be raised in the air above the people, and enveloped in a blaze of fire. His cries filled the place, and spread consternation among all. Suddenly, with a loud voice, he called out the name of German, and made public confession of his theft. The Bishop then rose from prayer, advanced to the head of the steps leading to the altar,² and evoked the evil spirit. The bag of money was discovered buried in the ground. The acclamations of the multitude were loud in German's honour, and the report of the action spread rapidly. The afflicted man forthwith recovered the soundness of his mind.

Not long after, a malignant fever infected the town of Auxerre. Its results were imputed, from their violence, to supernatural influence. Children fell the first victims : the glands of their throats unexpectedly swelled, and they were carried off within three days. The malady then attacked every one else, with a rapidity and severity which was compared to the sword of an avenging enemy. Medical resources were exhausted. At last, in despair, the people fled to divine assistance, and sought the intercession of German. He immediately took some oil, blessed it, and had all the sick touched with it. Its efficacy proved instantaneous ; the symptoms of the disease disappeared, and the city was at once delivered from all danger. It appeared, says the writer of the account, that the evil

¹ This salutation would be the "Dominus Vobiscum" probably.

² *Podium* is thus explained by Bosch. Boll. ad locum.

spirits had been the authors of the fever, for one of the demoniacs out of whom German was evoking the devil, at the moment of his last paroxysm, affirmed that the prayers of the Bishop had prevailed in putting them to flight. The sight of his piety and devotedness had provoked their fury to exert itself in tormenting his flock.

It was the custom of German to visit, on alternate days, the Church and the Monastery, to superintend the functions of the Clergy on one hand, and of the Monks on the other. One day, he was prevented from going to the Monastery where his presence was desired, and he excused himself on the plea of unavoidable business. He was not, however, detained so long as he expected, and he resumed his purpose of visiting the brotherhood, thinking to take them by surprise. It happened that in the meantime, in the Monastery, a man possessed with an evil spirit was thrown into one of his fits, in the middle of which he screamed out that German was already at the bank of the river, and could not pass without a boat. The Abbot who had received the refusal of the Bishop, imputed his cries to the evil One. But as he continued in the same assertions, Alodius, (this was the Abbot's name) sent one of his Monks, who brought back a confirmatory report. A boat was immediately dispatched, and the Bishop passed over and was welcomed by all the brothers. When he was informed of what had passed, he fell down to pray, and the Monks imitated him. While they were in this situation, the same fact occurred as was described above ; the demoniac was suddenly raised into the air and suspended by the invisible chains of Satan, to use the language of the narrator.

When they got up from prayer, German evoked the spirit, and healed the man.

In the three instances here described, we evidently remark a family likeness. The power of the Prince of Darkness over mankind is the prominent feature of them. It is well known that exorcisms in the early Church were of frequent occurrence, and they have been enumerated among the miracles of ecclesiastical times with the avowed contempt of some modern writers.¹ Nor is there any way of procuring credit to them among those who are not strongly impressed with the truth "that we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness (or rather 'wicked spirits') in high places ;"² that is, against the "wiles of the devil." It is a fact, however, which must have weight with serious minds, that few things have been more universally realized in the Christian world for the first fourteen centuries, than the direct, and so to say, personal agency of the devil. Even the cool and cautious Eusebius speaks of Satan in terms strictly applicable to a visible and living enemy. In the eleventh century, one of the most distinguished writers³ of his time fills a great part of his own history with examples of the presence of evil spirits. But these actions of German's were merely the prelude to the greater miracles which he performed subsequently, and which we shall see were more closely parallel with those of our Lord. It would seem they were reserved to the time when he should have received his Apostolic commission, and when contact

¹ See Douglas, in *Essay on Miracles*, p. xxxv.

² Philipp. vi. ³ Guibertus Novingenti.

with paganism and heresy should require a more special manifestation of divine power. And upon enquiry, it will be found perhaps that a great part of those miracles which are considered the most wonderful, were done by men who had to convert nations,—St. Martin, St. Patrick, St. Palladius, St. German.

Two more incidents may here be noticed before we proceed to the more important events of German's life. He was once travelling in winter. Oppressed with fatigue and the effects of his long fasts, he retired towards the evening with his attendants to a deserted ruin not far from his road. The place was said to be infested with evil spirits ; and it was conspicuous for its wild and rugged appearance. He was not however hindered from taking up his abode there for the night. His followers on arriving began to prepare their supper, and sat down to eat. St. German abstained from all food. In the meantime, the Reader¹ read aloud some pious work, after the manner introduced into monasteries, and which still is observed in religious houses. As he continued his task, German fell into a deep sleep. Immediately a spectre appeared before the Reader, and a violent shower of stones beat against the walls of the ruin. The young man alarmed awoke the Bishop, who in the name of Christ adjured the spectre to explain the cause of the visit. The mysterious personage answered, that he, with another, had formerly been the perpetrator of great crimes, for which after death they had remained unburied, and had been deprived of the rest allowed to other departed spirits. German having ascertained

¹ The Reader or Lector was one of the minor clergy in early times.

the spot where the bodies of these wretched men had lain, assembled on the following morning the people of the neighbourhood, and employed them in removing the ruins. After much labour, they found two corpses loaded with iron chains. "Then, we are informed, according to the Christian custom of burial, a pit was made, the chains taken off, linen garments thrown over them, and intercession offered up to obtain rest for the departed and peace for the living." Henceforth the spot was again inhabited and grew into a prosperous and flourishing abode.

During the same journey he retired one evening to the dwelling of some persons of humble condition. Though he could command the attentions of the wealthy and great, yet he often avoided them, and frequented the lower ranks of life. While he was thus lodged, he passed the whole night in prayer, as was his practice after our Lord's example. Day-light broke in, and to his surprise the cock failed to herald in the morning. He asked the reason, and learnt that an obstinate taciturnity had succeeded to the usual cry. Pleased at finding an opportunity of rewarding his hosts, German took some wheat, blessed it, and gave it to some of the birds to eat, whereby he restored their natural faculties. A deed of this kind which might have been forgotten by the rich, was likely to remain fixed in the memory of the poor. The appreciation of any action depends generally on the degree of utility which it conveys to different people, and circumstances which appear trivial to some are important to others. Thus could our Lord adapt His wonderful signs to the wants of men, at one time turning water into wine, at another multiplying the loaves, at another taking a fish for a piece of money which it contained.

CHAPTER X.

Britain in 429, A. D.

"ABOUT this time," says Constantius, "an embassy came from Britain, which informed the Gallican Bishops that the Pelagian heresy had widely spread among the Britons ; for which reason, they were requested to give their immediate assistance to the Catholic Faith. Thereupon, a large synod was gathered, and by the judgment of all present, German and Lupus were unanimously entreated to defend the cause, as lights of the Christian Church and bishops of Apostolic character, who, though bound to earth by the flesh, dwelt in heaven through their virtues. They, like heroic champions, readily undertook the task, heedless of the labours it involved, and forthwith proceeded to the work."

In this brief sketch of the causes which occasioned the visit of German to our island, there is much that has exercised the ingenuity of the learned, and still more which requires illustration, to enable the general reader to obtain a definite view of his mission. For the first time, we are here introduced to the people of Britain, in a somewhat abrupt manner. Nor are we accustomed at present to the idea of our nation sending for assistance to France ; and interference from abroad in our religious controversies, is the last thing which most men would welcome. Two things necessarily demand explanation,—the nature of the Political Union of Britain with the rest of the Roman Empire, and the nature of that Religious Unity which bound

together the different parts, including Britain, of Christendom. Both these, it is hoped, will appear, by enquiring as briefly as may be into the state of Britain in the fifth century, the rise and progress of the Pelagian heresy, and into the circumstances of the Council which Constantius mentions. If the history of this period of our history has been considered uninteresting, it is for want of clearness and precision in our popular sources of information. Antiquarian researches are seldom read, and it requires some patience to discern the truth, amid their discordant views. To supply partially the need of this trouble, without pretensions to original investigation, is the chief object of the following pages.

Gildas, a writer who flourished not long after the events here related, tells us that Britain was situated on the other side of the Ocean;¹—there is nothing in the fact but what we all know; but it is worth the while observing, that whereas the Atlantic, among the ancients, received the name of Ocean, the Channel which divides England and France was included under that appellation. Amid the devastations which a civilized age may be said to have spread throughout this rich country, there is still reason for all to admire its beautiful pastures, its luxuriant woods, and green hills. But in Gildas's time, it should seem that nature and art were tempered in that happy manner, which at once made the land habitable and fertile, while it left room for the poet or the hermit to indulge their love

¹ "Trans Oceanum."—Gildas Ed. Stevenson, 1838. p. 19. Vid. etiam Bed. Ephemeris Oct. 1. and scriptores ætat. passim. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. iv.

for solitude.¹ He tells us that by the mouths of the Thames and the Severn, the riches of foreign countries were brought into Britain, and thence spread through the land by many minor streams ; that Britain was adorned with twenty-eight large cities, besides other fortified places ; in all which there was a vast display of strong walls, gates, towers, edifices some of which were equally remarkable for their magnitude and their solidity. Another author tells us the names of these twenty-eight cities, and as there are many which the reader may like to recognize, it will not be out of place to give them in the original, as well as the present idiom. It will be remarked the word *Cair* is applied to all. In the British tongue it signified City ; and as in the Roman lists of towns the word *Civitas* was prefixed, so it happened with the British word *Cair*.

1° *Cair Guorthigern* (a town in Monmouthshire.)

2° *Cair Guintguic*, *Norwich* in Norfolk, or *Winwick* in Lancashire.²

3° *Cair Mincip*, *Verulam*, where the Church of St. Alban's was built, and which was a Roman municipal city, according to Tacitus.

4° *Cair Ligualid*, *Lugubalia*, in Latin, *Carlisle* in Cumberland.

5° *Cair Meguaid* (in Montgomeryshire) called by the Romans *Mediolanum*, or *Milan*.

6° *Cair Colun*, *Colchester*, called by the Romans *Colonia*.

7° *Cair Ebrauc*, this is the famous town of *York*, which in Latin was *Eboracum*.

8° *Cair Custoiend*, that is the town of *Constantius*.³ " Here,

¹ Gildas, p. 11 et p. 15. Vid. etiam Ranulph. Higden. Hist. Brit. ed. Gale. p. 197.

² Nennius, p. 62, ed. 1838, Stevenson. Usher. Primord. p. 59, ed. 40. Vid. et Antonin. Itinerarium.

³ Nennius, p. 20.

says Nennius, Constantius the Emperor (the father probably of Constantine the Great) died; that is, near the town of Cair Segeint, or Custoiënt, in Carnarvonshire." There was an inscription in Nennius's time left on his tomb, which bore witness to his death. He had enriched the town greatly, inasmuch that there were no poor persons to be found in it. It was called by the Romans Segentium, and also Minmanton.

9° Cair Caratauc, *Salisbury*.

10° Cair Granth, *Cambridge*, (in Gloucestershire, thinks Usher, though others believe it to be the more famous Cambridge.)

11° Cair Maranguid, called in Latin Mancunium, *Manchester*.

12° Cair Lundein, *London*, (Londinum) the metropolis of the kingdom.

13° Cair Ceint, *Canterbury* (Cantuaria.)

14° Cair Guiragon, *Worcester* (Vignornia.)

15° Cair Peris, *Porchester*.

16° Cair Danu, called in Latin Danus, *Doncaster*.

17° Cair Legion, civitas Legionum, *Chester*.

18° Cair Guricon, *Warwick*.

19° Cair Segeint, *Silchester*, near Reading in Berkshire, on the Thames.

20° Cair Legion guar Usic, *Cair Leon, on the Usk*, in Latin Urbs Legionis ad Iscam.

21° Cair Guent, *Winchester*, called by the Romans Venta Belgarum, (afterwards Wintonia.)

22° Cair Brithon, *Bristol*.

23° Cair Lerion, *Leicester*.

24° Cair Draitou, *Drayton* in Shropshire.

25° Cair Pensa vel Coyt, *Exeter*.

26° Cair Urnac, *Wroxeter* in Shropshire, called by the Romans Uriconium.

27° Cair Celemion, in Somersetshire, *Camalet*.

28° Cair Luit Coyt, *Lincoln*.

But these twenty-eight cities were by no means all that could pretend to the rank of towns; they were

probably the principal. Gibbon affirms,¹ with apparent truth, that there were ninety-two considerable towns in Britain which had arisen under the protection of the Romans, thirty-three of which were distinguished above the rest by superior privileges. And in fact, Nennius esteemed the minor towns to be countless,² and Bede speaks of twenty strong towns added by Vespasian in one campaign to the rest of the Roman possessions, which implies that there were many besides ; and we have the testimony of Gildas himself, a contemporary, to an important town not mentioned in the list given, namely Bath, which sustained a memorable siege. On the other hand, while these cities spread affluence around and encouraged the progress of civilization, there were not wanting vast ranges of uncultivated ground and woodland, with all the beauty which nature alone can confer. It is almost proverbial that ancient Britain was covered with forests, and the easy growth of trees in this climate would confirm the saying. With all the limitations then which the causes of wealth assigned necessarily require, it is not difficult to enter into the spirit of Gildas when he tells us, "that Britain was also decorated with broad meadows and plains, hills remarkable for their pleasant sites, and adapted to the highest culture, mountains affording ample pastures to all kinds of cattle, upon which flowers grew of all colours, so as to present a rich picture to the traveller, who might think he beheld a bride adorned with nuptial necklaces and bracelets.

¹ Vol. iv. p. 151. He quotes Richard of Cirencester. *De Situ. Brit.* p. 36.

² "Innumera," Nenn. p. 6. — "Oppida," Bede *de sex. Aetat.* 4033 Ann. — "Badonicus mons." Gildas, p. 33.

The streams, he continues, are lucid as crystal ; sometimes they wander about the land in abundant channels and with grateful murmuring ; sometimes, as they glide slowly beneath the long shadowy banks, they seem to fall into a deep slumber, forming themselves into lakes of pure and icy water." England, then, in Gildas's time, possessed the charms which it still owns. Nor had it lost them in those of Bede. England was still the beateous picture of Gildas.¹

On reading an account of St. German's deeds and miracles in Britain, most men would naturally ask themselves such questions as the following : Were the Britons, as they are often represented, in such a state of ignorance and simplicity, that the grossest acts of deception might be practised among them without fear of being detected ? Had they nothing of that distrustful spirit which wealth and soft living introduce ? Had they so little correspondence with foreign nations, and were they so ill acquainted with their faith, customs, and life, as to receive any one as an apostle or a teacher because he assumed these characters, and claimed deference and belief ? Or again, might the subsequent report and account of his deeds in Britain be so little subject abroad to the criticism of experienced judges, that any tale might be circulated without fear of exposure, just as one at the present day might publish any relation of regions in Africa unexplored by all but himself ? It is believed then that history furnishes an absolute negative to these questions. And before historical evidence, there is this antecedent probability, that all ages of the world, especially those which

¹ "Et signis te *picta* Britannia texit."—Ephemeris Oct. 1. Et Introd. Eccl. Hist.

have succeeded the preaching of the Gospel, have been much more on a level in intellectual and political advantages than is often supposed. Man is of an elastic nature ; circumstances must be very untoward to check its expansion. They were not such by any means in the fifth century in Britain, as will be seen.

Britain in ancient times seems to have meant that island which now consists of England, Scotland and Wales. With less precision apparently it sometimes included Hibernia or Ireland. Nennius¹ gives the names of four races of inhabitants, the Scots, the Picts, the Saxons, the Britons. Three islands among those which are situated near the coast of Britain claimed the highest importance, the Isle of Wight, then called Inisgueith ; the Isle of Man, or Eubonia, or Manau ; and the Orkney Islands to the north, which went by the name of Orc. From these geographical statistics it was usually said "that the governing power administered justice to Britain and its three Isles."² Without stopping to enquire what truth there might be in the statement that the Britons were descended from the Trojans, like their neighbours the Gauls ;³ that is, by the posterity of Eneas who settled at Alba Longa ; or whether their name was derived from Brutus the grandson of Ascanius : it is more to the present purpose to show that in the fourth and fifth century Britain was part of Gaul. The generic term Gaul, as a portion of the Empire, included France, Great Britain, Spain and Portugal. It seems to be agreed by learned men that the same language at this time was

¹ Nennius, p. 7. Ed. 1838.

² "Judicavit Britanniam cum tribus insulis." Ibid.

³ Vid. Dubos, tom. i. ch. i.

spoken by the natives in Gaul Proper and Britain. The Pretorian Prefect of all Gaul had twenty-nine provinces under him, seven in Spain, seventeen in Gaul, strictly so called, and five in Britain.¹ There was a Vicarius, or what we should call a Lieutenant-Governor over each of these countries. The seat of government in Britain was at London or York, sometimes the one, sometimes the other. *Caer Leon* in Wales seems to have ranked next.²

A residence of 400 years on the part of the Romans had placed the nation on the same footing as the most important provinces of the empire. *Dacia*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*, were only occasionally visited by Roman armies, and though often ranked among tributary provinces, would feel in a small measure the influence of Roman civilization. But Britain was a regular division of the Empire, subject to an administration similar in all respects to that of other parts. Legions to the number of twelve had been kept there for the repression of external as well as internal disturbance.³ Every city had its magistrates and civil codes like municipal towns elsewhere. The imperial court itself had been often fixed there. Julius Cæsar entered the mouth of the Thames three times, according to Nennius.⁴ On the last occasion he fixed his camp at *Trinovantum* 47 years before Christ. This of course was no regular settlement. But it opened the way to one. In the year 48 after Christ, the emperor Claudius came and reigned several months

¹ Valerius Not. Gall. p. 69. Buchanan, Cluverius, Camden. Notitia imp. p. 13. ad Not. Dignitat. vid. quoque, p. 95.

² Stillingfleet, p. 199 and p. 220.

³ Alford An. ad an. 401. ubi Camden.

⁴ P. 17 and 18.

in Britain,¹ according to the same author and Bede, and penetrated as far as the Orkney Islands, which he made tributary. In the year 167, Lucius, a British king, with the rest of the petty sovereigns,² received an embassy from the Roman Emperor and Pope Eleutherius, whence it appears that the government of the land was divided between the ancient kings of the Britons and the Roman settlers. But in the year 208, when Septimius Severus carried on the Caledonian war, and afterwards under Caracalla his son,³ the Island was definitively invested with all the privileges of a Roman province, which it preserved till the time we are engaged in.

Britain became a favoured country. Men often rose first to importance among her downs and her plains—sometimes gained the imperial diadem in her defence; and they loved to return to the cradle of their glory. Septimius Severus died at York. Constantius died in Wales. Constantine the Great was born at York, and educated in the same country. Afterwards usurpers issued from the Island or reigned in it. With the exception of the continual aggressions of the barbarians—the Scots, Piets and Saxons—every thing tended to increase the prosperity of the nation. During the period which elapsed from Claudius's reign to that of Honorius in the fifth century, Whitaker, in his learned History of Manchester,⁴ thinks the British monarchs of several tribes continued to reign, though with subordinate jurisdiction, and in spite of Gibbon,

¹ De Sex Ætat. 4007.

² “Reguli.”—Nennius, p. 18. Bede de sex Æt. 4132, (not Eucharisto but Eleutherio.)

³ Gibbon vol. i.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 247-257.

“the public and private kings” of Gildas,¹ and passages of Nennius,² seem to favour the opinion. An island under equal circumstances must always be favourable to the effects of peace. The Romans brought thither with them their luxuries, arts, and sciences, which were essential to their existence, and the important colony had become the exact copy of the mother country. What Calcutta is now to London, London or York was to Rome. But the author just quoted will best stand in the place of other evidence.³ “At this signal period (that now under review), he says, the five provinces in general of our country seem to have advanced very high in the scale of political perfection. And they even seem to have attained a more considerable degree of refinement, and to have actually existed in a more flourishing condition than any of them knew for many, very many centuries afterwards. All the improvements of the Romans had necessarily been introduced among us. Our mines were worked with the greatest skill. And our towns were decorated with baths, temples, market-places and porticos. Our architects were even so remarkably numerous and good, that a body of them was sent by Constantius into Gaul, to rebuild the ruined Augustodunum with greater magnificence. And so universally diffused were the riches of the kingdom, that even after the lapse of many centuries, and merely from the scatterings of negligence or the concealments of fear, the sites of all the greater provinces remain generally to the present times inexhaustible mines of Roman wealth. So absolutely false is the charge of barbarism against the Britons of this

¹ Gildas, p. 33.

² Nennius, p. 38.

³ Tom. ii. p. 6. Hist. of Manchester.

period, which has been regularly transmitted from pen to pen through a succession of 1200 years.”¹ This last sentence seems more particularly directed against the early pages of Hume’s history, which are very inaccurate and insufficient, as he elsewhere shows.

However, that this prosperity of the Britons remained unimpaired till the great invasion of the Saxons, which was subsequent to St. German’s time, is clear from the nature of the devastations which these barbarians then exercised ; for Gildas tells us their fury was spent upon the monuments of Roman and British wealth, their columns, towers, streets, high walls and fine houses.² And though towards the beginning of the fifth century the Emperor was obliged to recall, as we shall see, the legions that guarded Britain to protect other portions of his dominions, yet it was not to be expected that in twenty, or at most forty years, all traces of Italian refinement would have been effaced. Numerous alliances and permanent settlements of foreigners, would have taken place during the long period of the Roman connexion ; and as at this time the natives of Gaul had almost merged their nationality into the Latin citizenship,³ so this island, which had been conquered by the same general was now as much Roman as British. Furthermore, a passage of Nennius, shows that in the later years of Vortigern, that is, about 450, notwithstanding the many departures for the defence of Rome, there was still a considerable number of Romans,⁴ who kept that tyrant in awe.

¹ See also Alford. *Ann. ad an. 401.* “*Romani cum insulam subjugârunt, &c.*”

² See Gildas, p. 15 and p. 32.

³ See Salvian *De Gub. Dei. passim.*

⁴ P. 24. One MS. adds, “*Those that remained there.*”—See Ed. 1838.

During those forty years which followed the retreat of the Romans, Gibbon relates that the artificial fabric of civil and military government was dissolved,¹ and the independent country was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns. Zozi-mus, he continues, very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius are addressed to the *cities* of Britain ; and he proceeds to give the description of this government, which was essentially Roman in its forms, and highly indicative of the advance of British civilization.

If these inductions be true, it would follow as a matter of course that learning and literature were in a flourishing condition in this land. And in fact we do find the same state of things in this respect as in Gaul.² Schools and colleges were instituted in all the chief towns, and the usual rewards offered to professors and persons who distinguished themselves. Hence it could be said by a contemporary writer that the Britons were consummate lawyers.³ Christianity, as elsewhere, increased the ardour for intellectual pursuits, and learned divines, as well as acute disputants, sprung up in the island. Fastidius, Bishop of London, flourished about this time. He has left some writings which are still extant. Faustus, afterwards Bishop of Riez, one of the most eminent writers of his day, was a native of Britain. Pelagius, (no honour doubtless, but still a case in point,) was also born and educated here. Thus the Bishops and Priests of this country, though poor, were qualified in all other respects to attend the debates of foreign councils as well as those at home. Some were present

¹ T. iv. p. 151.

² Stillingfleet. Origin. 220.

³ "Causidicos Britannos."

at Arles in 316, A.D. And our churches attracted the attention of men a thousand miles distant, St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome.¹

In the foregoing observations, little has been said which does not strictly apply to the time when St. German lived and came over to Britain. To complete the view of the political state of the country, a rapid outline of the leading events since the beginning of the fifth century is necessary. Those who desire further knowledge of the preceding annals of Britain must consult other sources, among which, the life of St. Augustine, lately published, will naturally commend itself.

By the continued aggressions of the Goths and other barbarians upon Italy and even Rome, chiefly under the conduct of Alaric and Radagaisus, the Roman legions were forced to leave Britain, about the year 401, to defend the centre of the empire.² Thus the island was left destitute of the chief obstacle to the invasion of the Picts, Scots and Saxons, which last, we shall see, were already known for their piratical exploits. Nor did these enemies lose the opportunity afforded them of plundering the northern boundary.³ It was a proverb, says Gildas,⁴ that the Britons were as little brave in war as they were faithful in peace. He returns often to the same charge, which is perhaps not to be accepted without many limitations. He himself had said that the expedition of the usurper Maximus into Gaul some years before had stripped Britain of her youth, which was the first signal for the attacks of the Picts and

¹ Alford. 401. Stillingfleet 178.

² Vide Alford ad an. 401.

³ "Britanni non sunt in bello fortes, nec in pace fideles."

⁴ Gildas de Excidio, 15 p. also p. 25.

Scots.¹ However, so it is that little effectual resistance was made against the barbarians.

Opinions differ as to the abode of these people. It is certain that the Picts lived in what is now called Scotland, but whether they occupied the whole or only the southern part is not clear.² Gildas clearly tells us the Picts were to the north of Britain, the Scots to the west (a circione), which serves to prove the Scots to be the same as the natives of Ireland or Hibernia, and such also is Usher's opinion.⁵ It appears they were assisted in their incursions by Norwegians and Danes.

In the meantime, about the year 407, A. D., Constantine (whom none will confound with Constantine the Great or his son) was raised in Britain from the rank of private soldier to the dignity of Emperor, at the death of one Gratianus, who had been in a similar way elevated to the throne, and had been killed after a reign of four months. Constantine crossed over into Gaul, which he rapidly reduced, but was not long after conquered himself, and put to death by the generals of Honorius, the lawful emperor. This prince was now no longer able to guard his distant provinces, and in 409 he was under the necessity of exhorting the Britons to defend themselves as best they could, against their northern foes. However, in 411, the Romans, induced by the repeated requests of the Britons, again took the command of the island, and legions, with Victorinus the Prefect, were sent there to protect it. Ten years after, a fresh supply was sent by Honorius ; and an engage-

¹ Gildas de Excidio, p. 20.

² Ibid. p. 20, 21.

³ Usher Prim. Index. Chron. p. 1096, alias Alford. Annal, quem vide 406, 407.

ment took place, according to Gildas, with the Picts and Scots,¹ in which a great number of them were killed, the rest driven away, and the captives recovered. A coin on which this victory is commemorated, has been produced by Camden the antiquarian. It was at this time, apparently, that the first wall was made,² by the Romans and Britons conjointly, across the strip of land which divides Edinburgh from Dunbarton, between the Frith of Forth and the river Clyde, or as it is in the ancient descriptions between Bodotria and Glotta. The emperor Valentinian had by this time succeeded to Honorius, and the Romans again were recalled to protect him. As a matter of course, the Picts and Scots began their depredations afresh; they broke down the wall, which had been made too lightly, of mere earth and rubbish,³ and poured into the province. Once more the Romans were entreated, once more they returned. Aetius, the famous general of the empire, who afterwards conquered Attila, at Châlons, and at this time governed Gaul, sent this last succour to the distressed Britons, with his lieutenant Gallio. The barbarians retired, and a new wall was built, more solid than the former, and apparently in a different line of country, from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Frith. It was then that the Romans, as Gildas tells us,⁴ having admonished the Britons to look to themselves alone for defence, assisted them “in building forts at intervals along the coast, towards the southern part of the ocean, (meaning the English Channel) where

¹ Vid. Alford ad an. 428.

² Vid. Usher, Index Chron. p. 1096.

³ *Magis cespite quam lapide.*—Bed. de Sex *Æt.* vid. et Hist.

⁴ *De Excidio*, p. 24.—Alford. an. 421.

their ships were stationed, because from that quarter also the fierce barbarians were expected, (alluding to the Saxons, who infested those seas) and then bid farewell to the natives, never again to return to the island." This last event took place not more than three years, according to Usher, seven according to Alford, before St. German came to Britain. At six different times, had a wall across the island been built or restored by the Romans ; first by Agricola, then by Hadrian, afterwards by Septimius Severus, again by Diocletian, then by Theodosius, and lastly, by the officers of Honorius and Valerian. Henceforth the Picts and Scots harassed with impunity the exposed regions of northern Britain. On one occasion, however, we shall see, a severe check they met with at the hands of the natives, at the time St. German came over.

In the mean time, a king of the Britons had come into notice. Vortigern is a name which, like that of king Arthur subsequently, stands out as the representative, so to say, of a period. In the ancient chronicles, from Gildas downwards, he seems to gather around him almost every event of importance that happened between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Saxons. If there is a special evil spirit that brings about revolutions in states, Vortigern would be the personification of it. The nature of the circumstances, division within, expectation without, are reasons merged in the odium of one individual character. Vortigern introduced the Saxons into England. Vortigern's crimes brought down the vengeance of heaven. Such is the theme of early historians. Vortigern, in Nennius, or the work which goes by his name, written in 858, A. D., and all those who have

borrowed from his history, is closely connected with the name of St. German ; and as Vortigern is represented in colours which often remind us of Saul or Ahab, so St. German seems to exemplify the opposite traits of Samuel or Elijah. Here is a field upon which one would naturally expect the disciples of that allegorical school which has lately prevailed so extensively in Germany and elsewhere, to find a wide range for their fancies. It would not be surprising if the personality of Vortigern were denied altogether, (too gross an attempt would it be to deny that of St. German) ; or if he were supposed to be a mere type of a divided, unsettled, and decaying constitution, one generic name to represent a multitude of petty tyrants, which would necessarily spring up when all central government was broken up. But let us distinguish matter of fact from matter of conjecture. There is undoubtedly much mystery hanging about the person of Vortigern ; but Vortigern is, nevertheless, a true historic character. When the Roman government was withdrawn from Britain, in 409, (according to Bede)¹ the natives took the administrative power into their own hands. "The hereditary lords of ample possessions,"² to borrow Gibbon's admissible inferences, "who were not oppressed with the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly exercised the rights of peace and war.....Several of these British chiefs might be the genuine posterity of ancient kings, and many more would be tempted to adopt this honourable genealogy, and to vindicate their hereditary claims, which had

¹ Bede Epitome Eccles. Hist.

² Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 152.

been suspended by the usurpation of the Cæsars..... The public strength, instead of being united against a foreign enemy, was consumed in obscure and intestine quarrels ; and the personal merit which had placed a successful leader at the head of his equals, might enable him to subdue the freedom of some neighbouring cities, and to claim a rank among the *tyrants* who infested Britain after the dissolution of the Roman government." Gildas and St. Jerome both inform us that Britain at this time was a province fertile in tyrants. Among these was Vortigern,¹ before he became king of Britain. According to Alford, he first was a chief among the Danmonii, and called Count of Cornwall, and sometimes Consul of the Gevissei. He had three sons, Vortimer, Categirn, and Pascent. About the year 438, it should seem Vortigern was placed at the head of the many petty kings who divided the land, that he might oppose the united strength of the nation against the northern invaders. Gildas, Bede, and Nennius, are uniform in calling him the sovereign of the country, while, at the same time, they indicate the weight which the inferior princes, according to their relative importance, must have had in the public councils and measures of the state.

¹ Vid. Gild. p. 15 et p. 33. Alford, ad. ann. 438 ; vid. Nennius, p. 39.

CHAPTER XI.

Pelagianism in Britain.

WE must now pass on to consider the state of the British Church in the fifth century with that signal departure from its purity in the heresy of Pelagianism.

What the consequences of the cessation of Diocletian's persecution proved to be to the British Church, as well as to the rest of Christendom, are explained in the following words of Gildas : " The Britons raised again their Churches which had been levelled to the soil ; they laid the foundations of sacred edifices in honour of the holy martyrs, constructed, achieved and exhibited them in every quarter as trophies of victory. They celebrated the days of Festivals, and with pure hearts and mouths received and administered the sacraments ; as children at the breast of their mother, so did all the sons of the Church exult in her bosom."¹ It is well known that under the government of Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, Britain and the western provinces in general suffered much less than the eastern empire from the Edicts of persecution.² But it was some time before the clemency of that prince found occasion to exert itself. While Maximian, the colleague of Diocletian, reigned in the west, the fire of persecution raged vehemently in the provinces of his administration. The cruel minister of the tyrant's fury, Rictiovarus,³ filled Gaul with the blood of Martyrs ;

¹ P. 19.² Vid. Eusebius ad fin. Hist.³ Vid. Anquetil, tom. i.

Bale and Treves were amongst the most suffering cities ; in the latter town so many were put to death, that they ever after went by the name of the Innumerable. We have had occasion already to advert to this persecution in the case of the youth St. Justinus, whose death by some mistake apparently has been coupled with the names of both Rictiovarus and St. Amator, the former of which lived nearly a hundred years before Amator. It was in this persecution that St. Alban also received the crown of martyrdom in Britain. Under Constantius, whose wife, Helena, was a Christian, the Church enjoyed peace. This prince having come to the dignity of Augustus, was enabled to desist from all harsh measures enjoined by the decrees of the other Emperors ; and favour took the place of toleration which he had always shown. However, it was not till the edicts of persecution were repealed, that Britain, like other parts of the empire, fully recognized the claims of the Christian religion. Before that time, says Gildas, "the precepts of Christ were but lukewarmly espoused by the inhabitants, though some accepted them in their entirety, and others gave their assent less strongly."¹ But an important accession to the triumph of the Church took place in the elevation of Constantine to the empire, and in Britain, as elsewhere, the conquering Labarum brought over the world to the spouse of Christ.

As a general fact the Arian heresy received less encouragement in the Latin Church than in the Greek, and though many barbarian nations introduced it in the fifth century, yet it was never long supported by the lawful Roman governors of the west, and uniformly repudiated by the ancient population.² Still it had its votaries in

¹ P. 16.

² Vid. Salvian Gub. Dei.

every country, and Britain did not altogether escape the infection.¹ But a more pernicious influence was in reserve for this land, which began to be felt in the beginning of the fifth century in the propagation of Pelagius' principles. In the meantime the external aspect of the British Church might on the whole answer to the following biassed description: "The British Church, says Gibbon with his usual irony, might be composed of thirty or forty Bishops, with an adequate proportion of the inferior clergy; and the want of riches (for they seem to have been poor) would compel them to deserve the public esteem, by a decent and exemplary behaviour. The interest as well as the temper of the clergy was favourable to the peace and union of their distracted country: those salutary lessons might be frequently inculcated in their popular discourses; and the episcopal synods were the only counsels that could pretend to the weight and authority of a national assembly. In such councils, where the princes and magistrates sat promiscuously with the Bishops, the important affairs of the State, as well as of the Church, might be freely debated, differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions imposed, wise resolutions often concerted, and sometimes executed; and there is reason to believe, that in moments of extreme danger, a Pen-dragon or Dictator was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted however by zeal and superstition, and the British clergy incessantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian heresy which they abhorred as the peculiar disgrace of their native country."² This political as well as ecclesiastical importance

¹ See Bede Lib. i. c. 8. and Gildas 19. ² Vol. iv. p. 154.

of the clergy in the fifth century, which was indeed a prominent feature in the condition of Britain, resembled in many respects that which was afterwards witnessed in Spain ;¹ and about the time that St. German flourished at Auxerre, it was frequently brought into notice by the repeated synods which were convened to stop the progress of Pelagianism.

There has been much discussion about the birth-place of Pelagius. Yet it seems pretty clearly established that he was a Briton. Bede has expressly declared this, and he is supported by St. Jerome, St. Augustine and St. Prosper, contemporary writers.² But from which of the British provinces he came is not so certain. The early historians of monasteries make him Abbot of Bangor, in Wales ; and his original name is supposed to have been Morgan, which signifies Sea Born, and which he dropped for that of Pelagius answering to it,³ when he went to Rome. There is likewise some uncertainty with regard to the exact date of his birth. Probably he went abroad early in life, after having for some time studied in the retirement of Bangor ; for he undoubtedly was reputed a Monk in his own time.⁴ Enquiring and ingenious men generally went to Rome to sharpen their natural talents ; and Pelagius, among the number, repaired thither. He lived a long time in comparative obscurity, though acquainted with St. Augustine. For many years he ad-

¹ See Guizot's Europe, 6ième Leçon, p. 116, &c.

² Bed. Lib. i. c. 10. August. Ep. 106, ad Paulam Hier ad Ctesiph. p. 256, tom. ii. See Alford. ad an. 404.

³ Stillingfl. Orig. 187.

⁴ Bede. Lib. i. ch. 10. Isidore of Pelusium wrote to Pelagius the *Monk*, and St. Chrys. called him *Monachus*. Cellier, Stillingfleet and Collier.

hered with zeal to the Orthodox Faith. Had this not been the case, St. Augustine would not have written to him in the following manner : “ I return you many thanks for endeavouring to please me with your correspondence, and for conveying to me such certain proof of your soundness in doctrine. May the Lord reward you. Ever remain the same. And live with Him to eternity, beloved and longed-for brother, &c.”¹

While at Rome, Pelagius superintended the studies of several young men, among whom were Celestius and Julianus, who afterwards became conspicuous as leaders of the new Sect. Jacobus and Timasius were also his disciples and subsequently were restored to the Church. During this residence, Pelagius wrote his short Commentaries on St. Paul’s Epistles and Letters to Melania and Demetrias. He was still considered orthodox, and his reputation was now rapidly increasing. “ A man of learning and sense, and what is more, a very pious man and a Christian of no ordinary rank :”—such are the epithets which were applied to him.² But we may question the foundation, or rather sincerity of his profession of piety, when we consider that he is represented on other occasions as a sensual and voluptuous man.⁵

Prosper Aquitanus determines the year 413 as the time when he first gave publicity to his errors, about five years before German was elected Bishop. Honorius and Arcadius then divided the empire between them. “ Pelagius, says Bede,⁴ was seconded by Julia-

¹ August. in Gestis Palæstinæ in causa Pelag.

² Aug. de Gest. Palest. Collier, B. i.

³ Isid. Pelus.—Orosius Apol. c. 27. Apud Stilling.

⁴ Collier’s transl.

nus of Campania, an ambitious man, and who thought himself mortally disobliged by the loss of a Bishopric. St. Augustine, and the rest of the Catholic Fathers, appeared vigorously against this dangerous novelty. However, their answers were not successful enough to silence Pelagius and his adherents ; but on the other hand, the distraction seemed to rise upon opposition, and gain ground by being confuted and exposed."

Such were the general features of Pelagianism abroad, but the promulgators of it in Britain come more within the present purpose. Neither Pelagius nor Celestius visited Britain after they had obtained notoriety. This at least is the general opinion. Pelagius, it is said, was an old man before he became famous. However, that his heresy spread far and wide in the island is positively asserted by Constantius and Bede, two good authorities.¹ Agricola, son of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop, was the first public advocate of it in Britain.² About the time when he spread his tenets, edicts had been issued, first by Honorius in 418, and afterwards by Valentinian in 425, proscribing the Pelagian heresy, and they had been carried into execution with great severity in Gaul.³ Popes Zozimus and Bonifacius had armed the secular power ; they are not however responsible for the excesses committed. It was in consequence of these edicts that Agricola fled from Gaul and came over into Britain.⁴ He did not obtain a hearing at

¹ Bede, Lib. i. ch. 7. Constant. ad locum. Prosper Chron.

² Usher. Primord. 319. Carte's Hist. p. 182. vol. i. Ed. Fol.

³ Stillingfl. 190. Alford. annos. 418-19. (The latter date is uncertain.)

⁴ Agricola has been confounded erroneously with a certain Leporius who was in Gaul in the South. See Alford. Usher. Still. Collier.

first. The Britons were ever good Catholics. Little encouragement had been given to Arianism ; and now Pelagianism met with no ordinary difficulties. But so subtle and plausible were the arts employed, that by degrees they succeeded in spreading it almost over the whole island.¹ Whether it was received by so great a number of persons as might correspond with the extent of country it occupied is not perfectly clear. On one hand it was much countenanced, on the other it was vigorously opposed. One may safely affirm the Bishops in general fought against it ; and conjecture that many of the rich and of the enterprising youth undertook its defence.² Several synods were convened to stop the progress of the disease. But there was need of some special instrument to reach the roots of the canker. Against common and temporary heterodoxy the Church could find resources in her mere constitutions and traditions ; but for deep and philosophic heresy she required the aid of those doctors and shining lights which are raised up for one special purpose and perhaps for that only. Pelagianism in its grosser form would at once revolt serious and religious minds. But Semi-Pelagianism, which approached nearer to the language of the Church, though it concealed a dangerous meaning, naturally imposed upon many and perplexed some of the most zealous and eminent men in Christendom. Its success, which was extensive, was moreover due in a great measure to the extravagant opinions of the Predestinarians, who, apparently snatching up hastily some

¹ " Totam fere Britanniam Pelagianam pestem occupavisse." St. Lupi. Vit. apud Bolland. et Usserium, 319. See Tillem. tom. xv. 16.

² Compare Constantius's remarks, and Bede Lib. i. c. 17.

principles of St. Augustine without observing their connexion with others of the same Father, built up a structure of Fatalism very opposite to the intention and distinct statements of the Bishop of Hippo.¹

As the limits of a heresy can seldom be defined, and one runs into another when fully drawn out, and none has any absolute existence, as being founded solely upon a negative of the truth, the clearest notion which can be given of the outward character of Pelagianism in the world, will be derived from the language of those who represent the general impression it produced. Sigebert, the historian, who compiled from early sources, tells us that Pelagius asserted, "That every man, by his own merits, can be saved without grace ; every one is directed to righteousness by his own will ; infants are born without original sin, and are as guiltless as Adam was before his fall ; therefore, they are to be baptized, not in order to be loosed from sin, but to be admitted by adoption into the kingdom of God ; and should they not be baptized, still they will obtain a blessed eternity, apart from the kingdom of God."² St. Prosper, who was a theologian as well as a historian, confirms this view as a whole. "Pelagius the Briton," he says, "published the doctrine which goes by his name, against the grace of Christ, teaching that every one is directed to righteousness by his own will ; and receives grace in proportion to his merits ; that Adam's sin hurt himself but did not bind his posterity ; that those who will may be free from all sin ; that all little children are born as innocent as the first man was before his transgression, and are to

¹ Consult Guiz. France, Stillingsfleet Orig.

² Sigebert, Chron. ad an. 404, apud Alford,

be baptized, not in order to be delivered from sin, but to be honoured with the sacrament of adoption."¹

The necessity of grace, then, was the leading point concerning which Pelagius erred. Accordingly, Bede, describing the heresy by its prominent feature, observes, that the author of it began to spread his tenets "against the assistance of grace." These short statements are sufficient to show that other important errors might flow from the same source. Thus, the transmission of original guilt from Adam to all his posterity, the efficacy of baptism, the weakness of human nature, were in one sense consequences of the denial of grace, and in another were the same thing, inasmuch as what is virtually contained in any thing, is one and the same with it. Which opinion was the father of the rest, if such distinction may be made, need not perhaps be asked, as no thought has any proper existence apart from its relation with others ; and what poor abstractions men make, are best understood by the concrete ideas or systems to which they relate.²

One more author shall be cited, whose testimony on the subject of Pelagianism cannot well be passed over.³

"The Heresy," says St. Augustine, "of the Pelagians, the most recent of all at present, sprung from Pelagius the monk. His disciple, Celestius, followed him so closely, that the partisans of both are also called Celestians. These men showed such enmity to the grace of God—"by which we are predestinated unto

¹ In Prosper Chron. ad an. 414, apud Alford.

² For more details, vid. Usher, p. 218, Prim. Ed. 4to. et Collier, p. 96, tom. i. from St. Aug. Gestis Pal. et Pecato. Orig.

³ From St. Augustine's work upon the Heresies. Heresies, 88.

the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ to Himself,"¹ "and by which we are delivered from the power of darkness, that we might believe in Him, and be translated into His kingdom,"² to which purpose it is said, "No one cometh to me, unless it be given unto him of my Father ;"³ and "by which love is shed abroad in our hearts,"⁴ "that faith may work by love"⁵—that without this grace they believe man can accomplish all the divine commands. Now if this were true, in vain would the Lord seem to have said, "Without me ye can do nothing."⁶ However, Pelagius being blamed by the brethren for assigning nothing to the aid of divine grace in the performance of God's precepts, yielded so far to their reproaches as was compatible with not placing grace before (*præponeret*) free-will, while, with faithless craftiness, he lowered the former, (*supponeret*) saying that grace was given to men, that by means of it the things which were ordered to be done by free-will might be more easily fulfilled. And by the words, 'might be more easily fulfilled,' he meant, of course, to imply, that though the difficulty would be greater, yet men might, without divine grace, obey the divine commands. Moreover, the same grace of God, without which we can do nothing good, they say exists only in the free-will, which our nature, without any previous merits received from Him, inasmuch as God only assists us so far by His laws and doctrine, as to teach us what we ought to do, and what to hope for ; and not, forsooth, through the gift of His Spirit to enable us to do what we have learnt to do. And by this gift they allow, indeed, that knowledge is granted

¹ Eph. i. 5.² Coloss. i. 13.³ John vi. 65.⁴ Rom. vi. 5.⁵ Gal. v. 6.⁶ John xv. 5.

to us of God, whereby our ignorance is dispelled, but deny that love is given, whereby we live piously ; as if knowledge, which without love puffeth up, might be called the gift of God, and love itself, which so edifieth that knowledge puff not up, were not the gift of God. They make void also the prayers which the Church offers up, whether for infidels and those who resist the teaching of God, to obtain their conversion to God, or for the faithful, to procure increase of faith to them, and perseverance in the faith. For these things, they affirm men do not receive from God, but have them from themselves, since they say that the grace which delivers us from impiety, is given according to our merits. This doctrine, indeed, Pelagius, from fear of being himself condemned by the episcopal tribunal in Palestine, was forced to condemn ; however, in his later works, we find him teaching it. To this extent even do they go, that they say that the life of the just in this world is free from all sin ; and consequently, that the Church of Christ is perfected in this mortal state, so as to be without spot or wrinkle ;¹ as if she were not Christ's Church who cries to God all over the earth, 'Forgive us our trespasses.'² They also deny that children born of Adam, according to the flesh, (*secundum Adam carnaliter natos*) contract by their first birth the infection of the old death. For they assert that they are born without any bond of original sin, inasmuch that there is nothing whatever that needs being remitted to them by a second birth ; but that they are baptized, in order that being adopted by regeneration, they may be admitted into the kingdom of God, that is, transferred from what is good to

¹ Eph. v. 27.² Matt. vi. 12.

what is better, and not by this renewal absolved from the evil of any ancient bond. For even should they not be baptized, they promise to them, out indeed of the kingdom of God, a life of their own devising, (*vitam suam*) which shall nevertheless be eternal and blessed. They also say that Adam himself, even if he had not sinned, would have died in the body, and that he did not die, as it happened, by the just effects of guilt, but by the condition of nature. Some other things also are imputed to them ; but these are they chiefly on which the rest, either all, or nearly all, seem to depend."

Those who have paid attention to the controversies which have divided the world concerning Grace and Free-will, will not be surprised that men of learning and real holiness should have been over-reached at times by the subtleties of Semi-Pelagianism, without internally assenting to its perversions. St. Sulpitius we know imposed a lasting silence on his tongue, for having once given too favourable an ear to Pelagius himself. And other good men might occasionally use language which was offensive to dogmatic accuracy, and yet was innocent in them. Of this class, as it is said, was Fastidius the Briton, who lived at the time we are considering. He was surnamed Priscus, and was Bishop of London, the oldest see probably of England. Some who have strained a little the exclusiveness of the Augustinian theology, as Cardinal Norris and Tillemont, use harsh terms with regard to the work of Fastidius which has come down to us, and is entitled "A Treatise of Christian Life.¹ But our

¹ See this work in vi. vol. August. Opera, ad finem, Alford, Cressy, Usher, Stillingfleet, Collier, Bede, Pitts.

English writers of different schools, are nearly all agreed in defending him. Gennadius, a very early writer,¹ has bestowed great praise on Fastidius, and is followed by Trithemius, a writer prior to the schism of the sixteenth century. He calls him "a man learned in the Holy Scriptures, distinguished for his life and manners, and eminent for his eloquence and talents."

Faustus, another Briton of the same time, who became in process of time Abbot of Lerins, and Bishop of Riez in France, has been also thought to entertain Semi-Pelagian views. Yet even Cardinal Norris, before mentioned, admits that he was revered as a Saint in the church of Riez, and his name was preserved in the calendar of the Gallican Church. It was struck out long after by Molanus, and Baronius the great annalist followed him, but upon admonition restored it.² One Martyrology observes that "his books are piously and learnedly written, and that miracles are said to have been wrought by him."³ However Faustus is no obscure character in history, for he took a prominent part in the controversies of the time, and had the charge of drawing up the Acts of a Council assembled on the subject of heresy.⁴

On the whole, it is certain that the Bishops in Britain opposed Agricola and his followers by the most strenuous measures.⁵ But though they assembled synod after synod, they were unable to suppress the heresy, and finally resolved to apply to foreign assistance.

¹ Gennad. Catalog. ² Hist. Pelag. lib. ii. p. 297.

³ Vid. Bolland. Acta. Sanct. 16th Jan.

⁴ Comp. Sidon. Apol. Lit. ix. Ep. 3-9. Ruric. Epis. 2. lib. i.

⁵ Alford, ad. an. 420. Bede, lib. i. c. 17.

CHAPTER XII.

The Council of Troyes.

SUCH were the events which preceded the mission of German to England. But we have, lastly, to state what was the nature of the authority he received, and what is known concerning the synod to which Constantius, our original informer, refers. Much discussion has been raised about this very point. It has been thought by many, that the question whether the British Churches were dependent upon the Roman See or were not, rests, in a great measure, upon the evidence relating to this circumstance. We shall first put before the reader that account which will here be considered genuine, and then state some of the objections.

Before the English Bishops applied for help abroad, Palladius, the Apostle of the Scots, had been over to Britain, apparently not having, as yet, received his regular commission of Converter of the heathen in the north of the Island,¹ and while he was yet Deacon.

Palladius was a Greek by birth,² and attached to the Roman See. When he returned to Rome, he carried with him the news of the danger to which the Church was exposed from the growing evil of Pelagianism, and possibly was the bearer of the intelligence to the Gallican clergy on the part of the Britons. When he arrived

¹ Vid. apud Alford Annal. 429.

² Usher thinks he was not a Greek, but this is of no importance.

at Rome, he represented to Celestine, who was then Pope, the state of that part of Britain which is now called England and Wales, as well as of those districts which he had purposely visited.¹ Urged by his counsels, Celestine communicated his own intentions to the Gallican Bishops, who either, upon the strength of the message, immediately convoked a synod; or when the communication came, were already assembled, in order not to lose time in succouring their Christian brethren in Britain. This synod was held at Troyes, in Champagne, where St. Lupus was Bishop, in the autumn of 429, and the Gallican Prelates, after due consideration, elected German of Auxerre to go over to Britain as Apostle, with the authority of the Roman See, and joined to him Lupus, the Bishop of Troyes.² Whether Celestine proposed German for the examination of the Council, in accordance with the information he had obtained of his signal piety and wisdom, or whether he left free choice to the assembled Bishops to elect whomsoever they chose, we are not strictly told. But the first hypothesis is probably the true one, and agrees well with the unanimous consent of the bishops in appointing him.³ It will be seen, by reference to the passage of Constantius given at the beginning of a former chapter, that there is nothing in the view here taken which offers violence to his expressions, though there are some things which, in the brief description

¹ Vid. Prosper Chron. ad an. 429, and *Contra Collatorem*, ch. 41, 42.

² Vice suâ,* i. e. Cælestini.

³ It is impossible to say whether Lupus had the same direct authority from the Pope. Prosper does not mention him in this connexion. More probably, he was the proper appointment of the Synod.

he has given, are not mentioned by him. On the other hand, his omissions have been supplied from the authority of St. Prosper of Aquitain,¹ himself a witness even nearer to the times than Constantius, a more precise and less poetical writer, inasmuch as he was composing a chronology, and one who had closer connexion with the Bishop of Rome than any other Gallican author, at the same time that he was necessarily conversant with the affairs of his own country.

The objections to the account here given, and which have been urged with the greatest force by Bishop Stillingfleet,² are drawn up concisely by Collier³ in his Ecclesiastical History in the following manner. "I have observed," he says, "that the orthodox Britons applied to the Gallican Bishops to reinforce them against the Pelagians, and that Germanus and Lupus were sent by a deputation of a synod in Gaul ; but it is objected on the other side that Celestine, Bishop of Rome, sent Germanus as his legate hither, and for this the testimony of Prosper is alleged. But this assertion seems sufficiently overthrown by the authorities of Constantius, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Errius of Auxerre, and Ado of Vienne, who all agree that Germanus and Lupus received their commission for this employment from the Bishops of Gaul. Baronius, who is always careful to set the Pope at the head of Church business, endeavours to reconcile this matter, and offers to make Prosper's testimony consistent with the rest. To this purpose, he tells us, 'that the

¹ Tillemont says, " Il paraît que St. Prosper a travaillé trois fois à sa chronique et en a fait, pour ainsi dire, trois éditions en 433 en 445 & en 455.

² Stillingfleet, Orig. 192.

³ Collier, p. 103. tom. i.

Pope might approve of the choice of the synod, or might leave the nomination of his representative to the Bishops of Gaul.' But neither of these pretences will hold ; for Prosper affirms Celestine sent him, *vice suá*, in his own stead, which is very different from appointing a council to choose one to be sent. And Constantius affirms, 'that Germanus and Lupus undertook their voyage immediately,' which is a sign they did not stay for the Pope's instructions and approbation. Besides, the Gallican Bishops and Celestine had no good understanding at this time of day, they being looked upon at Rome as somewhat inclined to Semi-Pelagianism. This makes it highly improbable, that either Celestine should refer the choice of his legate to these prelates, or that they should wait for his direction. There are likewise some different accounts in chronology, hardly to be reconciled. As to the testimony of Prosper, about Celestine's sending St. German, it may be answered ; first, that the Prosper published by Pithoeus, never mentions it. Secondly, Prosper in his tract against Cassian, which undoubtedly belongs to him, does not affirm it. For there he only declares that Celestine took care to disengage Britain from Pelagianism. To this we may add, that supposing Prosper's testimony is not interpolated, yet Constantius's authority is preferable to Prosper's in this matter : for Constantius was not only in a manner contemporary with St. German, but likewise a person of great eminency, as appears by Sidonius Apollinaris's Letters, and wrote with great exactness even by the confession of Baronius. Neither does Constantius stand single in this point, but the author of the Life of St. Lupus gives account, and so does Bede, and the rest of the historians above mentioned."

Having given Collier's words, let us see whether they have in reality that weight which at first sight they appear to have, with an especial reference to the more laboured dissertation of Stillingfleet, to whom Collier is chiefly indebted.

The authorities of Constantius, Bede, Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Erricus of Auxerre, and Ado of Vienne, are opposed to Prosper. Now it so happens that Constantius is the only one of these that can be cited as an original testimony, for all have borrowed from him even his very expressions, and all lived long after the events they commemorate. Bede wrote nearly three centuries after ; and Paulus Diaconus, Freculphus, Ado of Vienne, and Erricus of Auxerre, flourished about a century later than Bede.¹ It would have been desirable that Usher, Stillingfleet, and Collier had given distinct references to these authors whom they cite among the other testimonies which they likewise appeal to, but with greater precision. If we except Bede, their writings are not very generally known, and are found in few collections.²

With regard to Bede, any one who will take the trouble to inspect his account of German's mission to Britain in all its circumstances will at once perceive that Bede has closely followed Constantius through several successive pages, so as to make it unquestionable that he was guided by Constantius alone in his relation

¹ Bede was born 673, and died 735, or later. Collier 294. Paulus Diaconus, called Warnefrid, born 740. Freculphus born at the end of the eighth century, Bishop of Lisieux. Ado, Archbishop of Vienne, born about 800. Vid. Biog. Univer. Erricus of Auxerre dedicated his book to Charles le Chauve, in 876. Vid. Boll. Commen. Præv.

² Vid. Eccl. Hist. ch. xvii.

of those circumstances which are mentioned by this author. Constantius had said nothing about the originators of the heresy in Britain ; this Bede first supplies apparently from Prosper. He says, "The Pelagian heresy introduced by Agricola, the son of Severianus, a Pelagian Bishop, had infected the faith of the Britons. But when the nation refused to accept this perverse doctrine and blaspheme in any way against the grace of Christ, and yet were not able to refute the deceits of these impious tenets, they adopted the salutary course of applying to the Gallican Bishops for assistance in their religious contest." He then falls into the narrative of Constantius, in which he continues for five chapters, deviating little from his authority. He describes the synod mentioned by Constantius with no other difference than what the explanation of one or two words required ; while on the other hand, some of the very same expressions are used. As Constantius gave no hint of the part Celestine the Pope had taken, neither does Bede. He says a council was assembled, enquiry into the emergency was instituted, German of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes were elected, and the two Apostles and Bishops lost no time in setting off for Britain. But he says nothing about the manner in which the synod was convened, or the reasons that prevailed, or the persons who directed the deliberations. On the other hand, Bede supports the view here adopted by placing the mission of Palladius to the Scots at an earlier date¹ than that of German, and he distinctly says with Prosper, that Palladius the Bishop was sent by Celestine the Pontiff of Rome to the Scots, who believed in Christ.²

¹ 430, A. D.

² Eccl. Hist. ch. xiii., and also *De sex ætatibus mundi. ad annum 4376 and 4402.*

This accounts therefore for the part which Prosper assigns to Palladius in turning the attention of Celestine towards Britain and the Pelagian heresy. On the whole, Bede gives nothing relative to the mission of German but what is found in Constantius and Prosper ; while he omits to mention a fact which we shall see Prosper in two different works asserts.

Paulus Diaconus is the first in order of time among the other authors quoted by Collier. There are three historical works of his in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* ;¹ in none of them can we find any statement concerning the subject in question. In his *Historia Miscella*, (p. 265, p. 266, p. 268,) during the period which extends from Constantine's usurpation in Britain, A. D. 407, to 511, there are indeed three notices of the civil affairs of Britain, but nothing is to be found concerning the ecclesiastical condition of that country. His work, *de Episcopis Metensibus*, is alike destitute of information to the point. And his history of the Lombards furnishes a mere view of the origin of that nation, and its fortunes from Justinian's time.

In the works of Freculphus and Ado we have something more to our purpose.² But then they are the mere copyists of Bede ;³ and their chronology is evidently false, for they make German and Lupus visit Britain for the first time, after the Anglo and Saxons

¹ Tom. xiii. *Bibl. Patrum. Lugduni.*

² See *Bibl. Patr.* tom. 14. p. 1189 and 1190. tom. xvi. p. 796-7.

³ Usher p. 335, admits that all these writers have disregarded Prosper's chronology and followed Bede. Bede himself generally follows Prosper, and the reason for his departing in this instance, is probably that he had one of the early and imperfect copies of Prosper's *Chronicon*, which seems to have been three times written.

had taken possession of Britain. But let the reader convince himself of the little corroboration they supply to Bede's account, by comparing the following passages, the similarity of which requires not any scholarship to observe.

BEDE DE SEX ÆTAT.
AD AN. 4376.

FRECVLPVHVS,
CHRON.

ADO, CHRON.

Ad Scotos in Christum credentes, ordinatus a Papa Cælestino, Palladius I., Episcopus mittitur.

(Tunc equidem) ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius I. Episcopo mittitur.

Scotis in Christum credentibus, ordinatus a Papa Cælestino Palladius primus Episcopus mittitur.

AD. AN. 4402.

Hæresis Pelagiana Britannorum turbat fidem, qui a Gallicanis Episcopis auxilium quærentes, Germanum Altissiodorensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum et Lupum Trecassenum æque Apostolicæ gratiæ antistitem fidei defensores accipiunt, &c.

(Tunc) hæresis Pelagiana Britannorum turbat fidem, qui a Gallicanis Episcopis auxilium quærentes, Germanum Altissiodorensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum et Lupum Trecassinum æque Apostolicæ gratiæ antistitem fidei defensores accipiunt, &c.

Hæresis Pelagiana Britannorum turbat fidem, qui a Gallicanis Episcopis auxilia quærentes Germanum Altissiodorensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum et Lupum Tricassinum æque Apostolicæ gratiæ antistites fidei defensores accipiunt.

Surely these writers, distinguished as they were, cannot be considered as independent testimonies even if we overlook the late date to which they belong. Nor has Erricus of Auxerre left any passage which might shake Prosper's testimony. Though somewhat farther removed

from the age of German, yet as a Monk of Auxerre, and a special enquirer into the life and miracles of our Saint, he might be expected to throw some fresh light on the point we are considering. But any one who will be at the pains to peruse the poetical version he has given of Constantius, will be surprised to find how very little real matter he has added to his model. In his account of the synod he merely paraphrases Constantius without any appearance of having consulted other testimony.¹ This author is more worthy of attention in what regards the circumstances which followed German's death, than for any information strictly biographical.

To conclude what may be said respecting these authorities quoted by Collier and Stillingfleet, with some remarks upon Constantius himself: it is asked, why did this writer omit all indication of Celestine's part in the transactions under enquiry if there were grounds for believing it. The answer is, first that Constantius is a very unequal writer as regards plan and method; he sometimes gives long details about one event, and passes cursorily over others of equal importance; nay, he is silent on subjects which are of great interest. Thus, German's education and early life, his political career, the Bishops who consecrated him, the rule and customs of his monastery, (to mention a few instances), are left in great obscurity by him. His object was, in the main, plainly to give a narrative of the miracles and distinguished actions of German, in compliance with the taste of the day.² There is little or nothing about

¹ Moreover, often what he did not learn from Constantius, like the rest, he took from Bede.—Vid. De Mirac. 24. Boll.

² Hence the expression, “*vitam gestaue, in connexion with ‘pro miraculorum numerositate,’ innumerabilium miraculorum exempla.*”—Prolog. Const.

Church matters, theological questions, and the like, although his great eminence in the literary world was noted in his own time.¹ In fact, they were not to his purpose. Again, Constantius may himself have been ignorant of the circumstances of the synod. Let it be remembered that he wrote sixty years after it was held ; and though, as a youth, contemporary with the latter years of German, yet he was probably quite a child when the mission of German and Lupus took place.² Councils were very numerous at that time, and especially in Gaul, where one every year was gathered, as any person may see by referring to Guizot's France, in which a list of those only, that are recorded, is to be found. It is not then to be wondered, if the Acta of this one should have escaped his observation, supposing them even to have existed at that time, and not to have been lost in the desolation which the barbarians, for the space of ten years, spread over the country, after German's death.³ On the whole, Constantius has transmitted next to nothing concerning the fact, which he just mentions ; for where it was held, and what Bishops attended, and at what time it took

¹ Vid. Sidon. Epist.

² Compare his own words in the Prologue. "Tanta enim jam temporum fluxûre curricula, ut obscurata per silentium vix colligatur agnitio." Compare also what Dubos says, tom. i. 387. "*Si le Prêtre Constantius avait prévu la perte des livres qu'on avait de son temps, & qu'on n'a plus aujourd'hui il aurait été plus exact dans sa narration.—Mais cet auteur qui comptait sur ces livres a évité les détails qui s'y trouvaient & nous sommes ainsi réduits à conjecturer.*"

³ See Hericus Prol. ad Miracula Germ. Garnier, in his Marius Mercator, hints that these acts do still exist, but they have not been forthcoming, and he does not say where they are supposed to be. xxi. Synod.

place, he has not told us, any more than by what authority it was called together.

What sanction have we then for asserting, that Pope Celestine appointed German his Legate to Britain, (as Baronius expresses it) with the understanding of the Gallican Bishops assembled at Troyes ? We have seen it is that of St. Prosper Aquitanus. In the *Chronicon Integrum* of that author, published by Roncallius in 1787, and in Bouquet's *Recueil des Historiens*, tom. i. p. 630, we find the following passage, placed under the year when Florentius and Dionysius were consuls, that is in 429.

“Agricola Pelagianus, Severiani Episcopi filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corruptit sed ad actionem (or actione¹) Palladii Diaconi Papa Cælestinus Germanum Antisiodorensem Episcopum vice suâ mittit, ut (or et) deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigat (or dirigit.)”

“Agricola the Pelagian, the son of Severianus the Bishop, corrupted the Churches of Britain, by insinuating his doctrines ; but by the advice of Palladius the Deacon, Pope Celestine sent German, Bishop of Auxerre, as his representative, in order that, after defeating the heretics, he might restore the Britons to the Catholic Faith.”

This chronicle, say the editors referred to, is now considered the authentic production of Prosper by all the learned. But it has been objected, that it differs from another published by Pithoeus in the sixteenth century, which does not contain the passage just quoted. Now in truth, the two works are altogether different compositions ; and though they may each be

¹ Bouquet.

brought as witnesses to what they each state, yet the silence of one cannot invalidate the testimony of the other. The Pithoean edition reckons the years by the Emperors, the other by the Consuls ;¹ the former is very much the shorter of the two, and the style of both is different ; nay, there is a passage in the Pithoean Ed. relating to the Predestinarians,² which, as Stillingfleet himself confesses, could not have been written by Prosper Aquitanus.

There is then no reason why the Pithoean Chronicle of Prosper, on the ground of mere silence, should interfere with the passage given above, as the genuine words of Prosper Aquitanus, which few contest at present.⁵ With regard to their respective notices of St. German, they are widely different. The Pithoean Edit. has :—

“Germanus Episcopus Antissiodori virtutibus et vitæ districtione clarescit.” “German, the Bishop of Auxerre, flourishes, endued with great gifts, and eminent for strictness of life.” This sentence is manifestly very different from the former, and it matters little whether it is by the same author or a different one.

But there is another work of Prosper, which, though less explicit, is yet as satisfactory as can be desired, without being liable to the same objections of authenticity. We there find the following words :—

“Venerabilis memoriæ Pontifex Cælestinus,⁴ nec

¹ See Recueil, Bouquet, 635.

² At least in the Editions of Labb. and Mang, though Roncallius corrects it with the note (*alia manu.*)

³ Conf. apud Roncallium, Chronic. Prosp. ex MS. Augustano, p. 691, et Chronic. Vatican, p. 715, ad marg.—Tillemont. Art. St. Prosper.

⁴ Prosper contra Collat. in fine. apud Alford. 429. et in tom. x. Appendix August. Opera Bened.

verò signiore curâ, ab hoc eodem morbo (i. e. *Pelagianismo*) Britannias liberavit : quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ solum suæ originis occupantes, etiam ab illo secreto excludit Oceani : et ordinato Scotis Episcopo, *dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam*, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.”

“Pope Celestine of revered memory, with no less diligence and care, delivered Britain from the same disease ; for he banished from those remote and sea-girt provinces certain adversaries of Divine Grace, who were taking possession of the soil whence they had originated ; and having ordained a Bishop for the Scots, (*Palladius*) while he endeavoured to preserve that part of the island which was Roman, in the Catholic faith, (*i. e. through St. German*) he also made that part which was barbarian, Christian (*by means of Palladius.*)”

Prosper here assigns to Pope Celestine the office of removing Pelagianism from Britain. Now there are only two occasions on record when that heresy, after disturbing the country, was extirpated by foreign assistance, namely, when German came over for the first and second times. And it is agreed on all sides that the second time was long after Celestine’s death.¹ It remains, therefore, that when German came to Britain the first time, then Celestine might rightly be said to deliver this island from the heresy ; that is, German acted as his representative or Legate.² It is not intended that these titles signified precisely what they did in subsequent ages, nor that they excluded the idea of the

¹ Celestine died 432. German was in Britain the second time in 446 or 447.—Boll. et Usher.

² Vice suâ.

authority of the Gallican synod being conjoined to that of Celestine. This fact is elsewhere proved. However the two passages of Prosper, taken together, establish one another so clearly, that they seem to place the matter beyond question.

The chronological difficulties to which Collier alludes, are certainly more easily resolvable, by assigning the first mission to 429, instead of 446. Spelman and others, who have adhered to Bede's uncertain chronology, have involved their dates in the same confusion as that writer. And had Collier rather followed Usher than Stillingfleet, (who, it must be confessed, causes perplexities by attempting to overthrow what after all he admits,) he would have seen that Usher calls it a plain anachronism to postpone the journey of German and Lupus to 446.¹

The date here recognized has been adopted by the majority of the learned ; the authors of *l'Art de vérifier les Dates*, Bouquet, Tillemont, Usher, Fleury, Carte, Lingard, Guizot, &c.² If Celestine had any part in the matter, it must have been before 432, since he died in that year. And the writer of the life of St. Lupus is so far from authorizing a date subsequent to this Pope's death, that he is one of those by whose testimony the chronology of Prosper is established. For, as Usher observes,³ St. Lupus is said to have been joined with St. German two years after he had been made Bishop of Troyes, which event had taken place a year after he entered the Monastery of Lerins. Now the latest period to which the arrival of St. Lupus at

¹ Conf. Boll. Com. Præv. § vi.

² Carte, in a note, expresses a doubt, p. 182, v. i.

³ P. 325, Ed. 4to.

Lerins can be assigned is 426, and consequently, the mission to Britain, which was three years after, must have been, at the farthest, in 429, and in this inference he is supported by Garnier and the Bollandists.¹

It appears then that Stillingfleet, who urges the misunderstanding of the Gallican Bishops with the See of Rome, is tacitly begging the question. The Deposition of Chelidonius, in which St. German took part, and which is supposed to have irritated against him the Pope, occurred in 444. And if this misunderstanding arose from the Semi-Pelagianism of some Gallican Bishops, it is not necessary, in the first place, that it should have infected all, including St. German ;—in the second, in 429 Semi-Pelagianism had but just appeared in Gaul, and was, as yet, scarcely recognized or convicted ;—in the third place, though Arles, to which St. Hilary belonged, might be obnoxious to Rome, (a mere conjecture) yet there is no reason why a Council at Troyes, in Champagne, must share in the displeasure ;—fourthly, the names of none of the assembled Bishops are given, except those of German and Lupus, and why those, who are not so much as named, must be guilty at Rome, is still to be shown ;—lastly, it is going too much out of the way, to imply that St. German was Semi-Pelagian, because St. German was friend of St. Lupus, and St. Lupus was brother of Vincentius Lirinensis, and Vincentius Lirinensis was supposed to be infected with some errors of the kind. The answer to this is, that brothers do not always hold the same opinions, and friends do not necessarily agree with friends' brothers ; and Vincentius, who is supposed without satisfactory foundation to have written in fa-

¹ Diss. 2. ch. 22.—Comm. in Vitam Lupi.

vour of the Semi-Pelagians, is allowed, even by his accusers, to have written only in 430, that is, after the Council of Troyes ; while other authors deny that he ever composed the heretical work imputed to him. Nay, Ceillier, a high authority, thinks it is altogether very doubtful whether Vincentius Lirinensis was brother of St. Lupus, and he notices the silence of Gennadius, a writer near to the times in question.¹ And if it be urged that St. Lupus was commissioned to go to Britain, as well as St. German, which brings the last objection a step nearer, it is replied that St. Lupus also was appointed by the Gallican Bishops, and there is no authority for supposing the Pope to have nominated him, whereas there is in the case of St. German. If, then, the Gallican Bishops and St. Lupus were all Semi-Pelagians, it is not surprising, forsooth, that the Delegate should have resembled the Commissioners. But let us not imagine, unnecessarily, schism in Christian Bishops, heresy in Saints.

The recent editor of the very ancient Life of St. Lupus seems to have shown satisfactorily that Troyes was the place where the Council was held.²

From this last source, then, we learn, as well as may be, the place of the Council ; from Prosper, the intervention of the Pope Celestine and the date ; and from Constantius, the enquiry and decision of the Synod.³

It need only be added, that circumstantial evidence is in favour of the general view here taken. It was

¹ Vid. Ceillier, tom. xiii. p. 583 ; et Tillemont. Art. Vincent.—Petavius says the Commonitorium was written in 434.—Doct. Temp. vol. ii. ad Annum.

² Boll. Tom. vii. Julii.

³ Comp. Usher, Index. Chron. p. 1097.

by the advice of St. German, that St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, went to Rome to get his commission, according to Hericus of Auxerre, whom Usher, who well knew St. Patrick's history, approves.¹ His words are as follows : "Patrick, the special Apostle of Ireland, during eighteen years² (*authors differ about the time*) remained under his tuition, and received great knowledge in the Scriptures from his instructions. Whereupon the Bishop, (German) seeing how great a divine Patrick had become, how excellent in his conduct, and sound in his opinions, and wishing a labourer so vigorous might not remain idle in the Lord's vineyard, sent him, together with his presbyter, Segetius, to St. Celestine, Bishop of Rome, that Segetius might bear witness to the merits of Patrick before the Apostolical See. Approved by the judgment of the Pope, supported by his authority and strengthened with his blessing, Patrick went to the regions of Hibernia, as the Apostle of that nation."³

Again, there is no doubt that St. Palladius, the Apostle of the Scots, was sent by Celestine. Both Prosper and Bede agree in this.

There is a probability that the title of "Apostolici Sacerdotes," which Constantius gives to German and Lupus, might denote that they were authorized by the one Apostolical See of the West. But the context seems scarcely to warrant this conjecture of Alford, and the frequent use of the word in contemporary writers, in the sense of Holy, and as we should say, Primitive, makes the other sense, which is indeed also found, the less probable in this instance.

¹ Usher, p. 1100.

² De Mir. Lib. i. ch. xxi.

³ So Jocelin. Vid. Alford, an. 431. Stillingfleet 211.

But a better argument is deduced from the circumstances of St. German's journey to Arles *after his mission*, to which there will soon be occasion more fully to advert again. Auxiliaris was then Prefect, and he was no longer Prefect in 444 ; consequently, German must have been in Britain before 446. Again, if St. Eucher had been Bishop of Lyons when German passed through that town, in going to Arles, Constantius would have mentioned it, for St. Eucher was one of the most eminent men of his time, and Constantius was Priest in that very town. But St. Eucher was Bishop in 444, for he then joined Hilary and German in deposing Chelidonius, Bishop of Besançon. Therefore, when German passed by, it was before 444. Therefore, he was in Britain before 446. But of this more hereafter.

CHAPTER XIII.

St. German's first visit to Britain.

ST. LUPUS, who was chosen to be the colleague of St. German, was one of the most eminent men of his time. His Life, which is still existing, and is almost as ancient as the Saint himself, informs us that he was born at Toul, in Lorraine, of a noble family, A. D. 383.¹ His father was called Epirichius, who died early, and left the care of Lupus to his brother Listicius, which latter bestowed great pains on his education. When he grew up he married Pimeniola, the sister of St. Hilary of

¹ Bolland. xxix. Jul.—Vid. Ceillier, tom. xv. 40.

Arles. After they had been married seven years, by mutual consent they parted from each other, and Lupus retired to the Monastery of Lerins, in the south of France, where Honoratus was then Abbot. There he lived a year, after which, as he was returning to Mâcon to give away all his fortune to the poor, he was suddenly carried off to Troyes in Champagne, and with universal approbation instituted Bishop of that place. His learning, his ardour, his eloquence, his holiness, ranked him among the most distinguished Bishops of Gaul. He was an intimate friend of St. Sidonius Apollinaris, with whom some fragments of his correspondence remain. He is there called by Sidonius a Father of Fathers, a Bishop of Bishops, a second St. James,¹ in allusion to a similar expression of St. Clement concerning St. James the Less. He had been only two years at Troyes, when the synod which was held there nominated him Apostle to Britain in conjunction with St. German. The date of his birth will show that he was junior to German by at least five years. He was at this time forty-six years of age ; German was in his fifty-first year. This dictinction of age may account for the somewhat subordinate capacity in which he is represented with regard to German in the following account of their joint mission.

The two Apostles, for such they are always called by contemporary writers, lost no time in doing the work which was committed to them. They directed their course towards Paris, through Sens and Melun, which, as we all know, is the straight road to England, and stopped at Metrodorum, now called Nanterre, about two leagues from the present capital of France. The

¹ Lib. vi. Ep. i. Et Notas.

inhabitants of the place came out to receive them on their arrival, and obtain their blessing. While German was talking to the people, he perceived in the midst of them a little girl about six years old,¹ who appeared to him to have the radiance of an angel on her countenance. He desired that she might be brought nearer to him. He then embraced the child, and asked who she was. Genevieve he was told was her name ; her father was Severus and her mother Gerontia. The parents, who seem to have been persons of consideration, were then called to answer the enquiries of German. When they arrived, endued with a prophetic spirit, he congratulated them on having such a daughter, pronouncing her to be a chosen vessel of God, and one who would hereafter become a bright example to all.

He then requested Genevieve (who was no other than the illustrious patron Saint of Paris) to open her mind to him, and confess whether she intended to adopt the holy life of a Virgin, and become one of the Spouses of Christ. She declared that such was her desire, and that she had cherished it for some time, and entreated him to add his sanction and benediction. Having exhorted her to persevere in her purpose, he led her with him to the Church of Nanterre, accompanied by all the people. The Divine Service then began. The two offices of nones and vespers were united, during which a long series of psalms were sung, and protracted prayers offered up.² All the while German continued to hold his hand upon the head of the girl. The office ended, and they retired for refreshment.

¹ 423, A. D., is assigned as the year of her birth.

² Nonam et Duodecimam celebrant. Vit. Genov. Jan. iii. Bolland.

The following day German enquired of Genevieve whether she was mindful of her late profession.¹ Upon which, as if full of the Divine Spirit, she expressed her determination to act up to it, and desired he would always remember her in his prayers. While they were conversing, German beheld on the ground a copper coin with the impression of the cross upon it. The interposition of God was deemed manifest. Accordingly taking up the coin, he presented it to Genevieve, and charged her to hang it to her neck, and always carry it about with her in remembrance of him. Other ornaments, such as the world offers, gold and precious stones, she was enjoined to renounce. "Let them, he said, who live for this life have these ; do thou, who art become the Spouse of Christ, desire spiritual adorning." He then took leave of her, recommended her to the special attention of her parents, and resumed his journey with Lupus. In remembrance of this present of German to Genevieve, there long remained among the Canons of St. Genevieve at Paris, the custom of distributing annually on her festival a piece of bread blessed, with an image of the coin impressed upon it. We may remark moreover how early the practice prevailed among Christians of carrying at their necks some token of the mysteries of their religion ; and also, that the profession of a religious life was a formal act, not merely an internal resolution of the soul.

The two Bishops soon arrived at the sea-shore. The winter months had now set in. But regardless of the weather, they embarked, says Constantius, upon the ocean with Christ for their leader.² The ship at

¹ This seems decided proof that the child was very young.

² Vid. Vita St. Lupi. "Temporibus hybernis mari se committente."

first was carried out from the harbour of Gaul by soft gales, till it reached the middle of the Channel, and lost all sight of the land. Shortly after, the power of demons seemed to be roused over the wide expanse. Filled, as it were, with wicked and malicious envy towards the holy men who undertook to restore a nation to the paths of salvation, they immediately began to excite the storms, and cover the sky with thick clouds, which spread gloom and darkness over the horizon. The sails were unable to resist the fury of the winds, and the vessel began to yield to the weight of the waves. The sailors at last relinquished their post, and the ship was left to the sole aid of prayer. While these things were passing, the chief person in the expedition, wearied with previous fatigues, had fallen asleep. He was still in this state, when the tempest broke through all obstacles, and the ship began to sink. Then Lupus and the whole crew rushed in great alarm to their venerable brother and awoke him, hoping to oppose effectually his strength to the elements. In the midst of the danger, German remained perfectly calm, and calling upon the name of Christ, rebuked the raging of the sea. At the same time taking oil, he sprinkled some over the waves, in the name of the Blessed Trinity.¹ Immediately they began to subside. Afterwards German, with the same composure, addressed words of encouragement to Lupus and his fellow-travellers. They then prayed all together. In the mean time, the last efforts of the evil

•

¹ Alford, in this connexion, observes with Baronius, that this sprinkling of oil does not relate to the sacramental ordinance mentioned by St. James, but is to be referred to the example proposed in St. Mark.

spirits were subdued, and tranquillity was restored to the sea and to the air. The winds changed their direction, and carried the vessel safely towards the British shore.

We are not told precisely where German landed in Britain ; but, as Whitaker says, the harbour of Rutupiæ, or Richborough, between the mouth of the Thames and Dover, was the great entrance from Gaul to this island. It was there St. Augustine subsequently landed, and the Roman troops generally were disembarked at this spot, as the Antonine Itinerary testifies. When German and Lupus set foot on shore, they were received by a multitude of people, who had come from all sides to greet them. It appears the evil spirits, by means of the prophetic exclamations of some possessed persons, had given notice of their approach.

The fame of the two Apostolical envoys soon spread all over the country. Their preaching and signs attracted crowds to the Churches they visited. On their journey, also, they were accompanied by a large concourse of people. And such was the zeal everywhere displayed, that they were forced to stop and address the multitudes in the fields and highways. On all these occasions, they endeavoured to eradicate the seeds of Pelagianism from the hearts of their hearers. Nor did the event disappoint their expectations. Their boldness and conscious strength, their learning, orthodox teaching and sanctity, carried the feelings of all with them ; insomuch that the authors of the Pelagian leaven were obliged to remain hid, and mourn in silence the defection of their disciples. At last, they gathered their forces and resolved to encounter the two Bishops. Like the Arian faction at Constantinople, they trusted the display of worldly importance would

prevail over the unassisted appeals of truth. They came to the Conference with a splendid train. Riches and glittering garments distinguished their party ; a body of complaisant followers was ready to support their assertions. The Synod (for such appears to have been the nature of the assembly where the two parties met) was attended by great numbers. Many Bishops and Priests, doubtless, were there, anxious to see what foreign assistance might effect for the destruction of a heresy which they had in vain endeavoured to stifle. At the same time, a number of the laity were allowed to assist, with their wives and children. It should seem some vast and open place was selected for the reception of all who were interested in the issue ; and the publicity of the Conference in itself was desirable, as a means of disabusing the people.

In all respects the contrast between the parties was striking. The language of the Pelagians, says Constantius, presented more of empty verbosity than forcible argument. And, indeed, the general effect of their harangues may have been such. But when we reflect upon the maturity to which the heresy had arrived, the acuteness which ever characterized its maintainers, the deep root it had taken in Britain, and the difficulty which the Catholic Clergy had experienced in their struggle against it, we cannot but modify the import of his expressions by the nature of the circumstances. The most elaborate and subtle discussions of heretics may sometimes, to orthodox ears, who do not perceive the drift of them, have the appearance of shallowness and irrelevancy. Again, any thing, in one sense, may be considered as unphilosophical and superficial which is not true. And after all, it was the popular impression which Constantius was

concerned to transmit. On the other hand, he says German and Lupus, who were profoundly versed in the Scriptures and theological learning, and by nature eloquent, were able to support the arguments which reason and conscience dictated to them, by the most convincing appeals to authority and tradition. The truth of this assertion is abundantly shown by the result ; for their adversaries were completely silenced by the answers they received, and even confessed their own errors ; while the people, astonished at their signal discomfiture, were ready to lay violent hands upon them.

Some suppose this Council, which historically deserves an importance apart from the scanty records which notice it, to have taken place at London, others at Verulam or St. Alban's. The latter opinion, which is the most favoured by critics, is derived from Matthæus Florilegus, who wrote in 1307, A. D., and is, therefore, no very safe authority. Camden tells us that some old parchments of the Church of St. Alban's bear witness that St. German went up to the pulpit, and harangued the people, in the place where there is still a small chapel dedicated to him. Spelman and Alford, who are followed by Collier, incline to this view.¹ However, as German harangued the people wherever he went, nothing can be inferred from the parchments of St. Alban's, as to this particular Synod. And Constantius would rather lead us to suppose that German removed from the place where it was held, to go to St. Alban's, which could hardly be said had he

¹ See also Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire. He makes the odd mistake of assigning this circumstance to 401, t. i. p. 6. Collier, p. 103. i. Spelman Concilia. Alford, 429.

been in the town. We are informed that the Acta, or account of the proceedings, are still in existence,¹ as well as those of the Gallican Synod before mentioned ; but in whose possession they are, is a mystery. Boethius, a late writer, in his History of the Scotch, seems indeed, to be the only authority for assigning the present Council to London ; and yet it is the opinion which tallies best with the probabilities of circumstances. London was at this time the most important town in the south ; a Bishop resided there, who must have been the Metropolitan, if not of the whole province, yet of a great part of it. Besides, London was in the way to St. Alban's.

Scarcely had the Conference ended, when an officer in the Roman service, accompanied by his wife, advanced towards German and Lupus. He was a Tribune, and at that time his office was one of great importance, as it ranked next to that of Count or Duke. In all great cities, there was a Tribune, who had both the command of the troops and the superintendence of the civil affairs, and was responsible only to the governor or Duke of the Province.² The Tribune presented to the two Bishops his little daughter, who was blind, and requested them to bestow such relief as lay in their power. But he was desired to try first the skill of their Pelagian adversaries, miracles having always been considered by the Church the proper evidence of true doctrine. But they who had now learnt to think more humbly of themselves, united in demanding her cure at the hands of German and Lupus. A short prayer was then offered up, and German, full of

¹ Vid. Boll. Comm. Præv. § 59. Tillemont, t. xv.

² Dubos, tom. i. p. 80.

the Holy Ghost, called upon the Blessed Trinity, pulled from his breast the little box of relics, which he ever carried about him, and applied it to the eyes of the girl. Her sight was restored at once. This miracle, performed in the presence of so great a multitude, gave the finishing stroke to Pelagianism. In those parts the heretics were totally suppressed, and the people restored to purity of faith. If we might credit the assertion of the author quoted above, Boethius, there were some who refused to renounce their false tenets, and who were burnt at the stake by the civil magistrates. It is true, the secular power had been armed against the heresy, and some severities had been exercised in Gaul through the imperial edicts ; but that a deed of this magnitude should have been left unnoticed by Constantius, when the context would have required at least some allusion to it, seems sufficient to disprove the supposed fact ; add to which, the cruelty which half a century before had been displayed against the Priscillianists, and had been so earnestly deprecated by St. Martin, would have left an impression calculated to avert any unnecessary return of it.

However, German and Lupus having concluded the conference, proceeded to St. Alban's tomb at Verulam, in order to return thanks to God. In this they did but comply with the custom of the country, in the veneration of which St. Alban held the rank of Patron Saint. His name is still familiar to most Englishmen, though his history is involved in much obscurity. He has deserved the honour of being called the first British Martyr, and was probably put to death in the persecution of Maximian, the colleague of Diocletian, the fury of which has already been adverted to. The famous Abbey which still stands over his relics, was not built till the year

790, by Offa, king of Mercia, consequently long after German's visit.¹ But there was a Church or Basilica already there at this time.

When German arrived, public prayers were performed ; after which, he caused the tomb of the Saint to be opened and deposited within some of the relics of the Apostles and Martyrs which he carried with him, under the sense, says Constantius, that there was a propriety in joining in one receptacle the bones of those who at the most distant parts of the world had exhibited the same virtues. At the same time he took up from the very spot where the blood of the Martyr had been shed a handful of dust, which by the red stain it still preserved, bore witness to the fury of persecution.² This he subsequently took to Auxerre, where he built a Church in honour of St. Alban, which, says Hericus, was held in the highest veneration. It was such actions as that just related, which excited the indignation of the heretic Vigilantius, not long before the events under consideration, when he exclaimed : " We have now to see almost the rites of the Gentiles introduced under pretence of religion, a little dust forsooth, enveloped in a precious cloth and placed in a convenient vessel, which men kiss and worship." In answer to which St. Jerome said : " We do not adore even the Sun or the Moon, or the Angels, much less the relics of Martyrs ; but we do honour the relics of Martyrs in order to adore Him for whom they are Martyrs. We honour the servants, that their honour may redound unto that of their Lord."³ But to return.

¹ See Moreri Dict. ad vocem. Bosch. Not. ad Const.

² Hericus Vita Metr. B. iv. § 94. and De Mir. § 7.

³ Vid. Apud Thom. Aquin. Qu. xxv. Ast. 2.

Three centuries after, we are told, that king Offa found at Verulam the coffin of St. Alban, which had been hidden, for fear of the barbarians, together with these same relics of the Apostles and Martyrs which German had there deposited.¹ On which occasion, the people that were present, both clergy and laymen, were so moved at the sight, that they shed tears of joy and thanksgiving.

There is little or no credit to be attached to the story of the Monks of Cologne, who in the middle ages asserted that German had carried the remains of St. Alban to Rome, and that at a future time they were brought to their city. The body in fact remained entire at Verulam, where a chapel was afterwards built in honour of St. German and his visit to the Martyr's remains. This chapel in process of time formed a part of the great Abbey of St. Albans.²

After German had visited the shrine of St. Alban, he met with an accident (the only one which is recorded in his long life) which though not of a very serious nature, yet impeded his progress. Having bruised his foot, he was obliged to stop, and take up his abode in a cottage. During his stay, a fire broke out in the neighbourhood, which spread with so much the more rapidity as the roofing of the houses was of thatch, a circumstance not unimportant in these days of antiquarian research.³ Men from all sides came to warn him of the danger, but he remained perfectly composed, and would

¹ Matt. Floril. apud Usseri. 329.

² Vid. Dugdale, and a quotation from Matt. Paris, in Alford ad an. 441.

³ Comp. Hallam Middle Ages, and an article in No. 3, Archæological Journal.

not suffer himself to be removed. All the buildings around were burnt to the ground, while that in which he was detained, as if by miracle, escaped the flames.

In the meantime, German continued to endure the pain which his accident had produced without accepting any remedy. One night a person clad in white garments appeared to him and raised him up. At that instant he recovered the use of his leg, and prepared to resume his journey. The reader will be reminded of the angel who appeared to St. Peter.

About this time it is supposed St. Patrick, the future Apostle of Ireland, came to visit St. German, and consult him about his studies and the means of converting men. This does not appear to have been the first interview of these Saints. St. Patrick was probably under the care and tuition of St. German several years before. There are few things better attested than their friendship and intercourse, and in all the accounts of St. Patrick's life, it is believed the names of both are united. Yet the exact circumstances of their connexion are seemingly uncertain and confused from the very variety of the witnesses. William of Malmesbury dates their intimacy from this journey of German to Britain; and a few years after, supposes German to have obtained the sanction of Pope Celestine for sending St. Patrick as Apostle to Ireland.¹ These events, however, belong rather to a Life of St. Patrick. It is sufficient here to commemorate that union which existed between two such eminent men; and it may afford a further proof of the holiness of both, that German was the friend of Patrick, Patrick of German. Constantius says nothing

¹ Vid. Usher, p. 840. Bede and Capgrave apud Alford. 429.

about it, but his commentator, Hericus of Auxerre, supplies the omission.

While German was detained by his accident, a great number of sick persons came to see him to be cured of their respective diseases. Others came to desire spiritual instruction. German healed the first, and enlightened the latter. The miraculous power which is assigned to him in healing sick people, can only be compared with that which St. Peter and St. Paul possessed, concerning whom it is said, that by them, "they were healed every one" whosoever had any disease.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Alleluatic Victory.

WITH the names of the Picts and Scots, who, it has been seen, infested Britain during the early part of the fifth century, that of the Saxons has been mentioned in a previous chapter; which the reader may either not have observed, or may have looked upon as an anachronism. According to the chronology that has been adopted, the Invasion, properly so called, of the Saxons and Angles took place nearly twenty years after the first visit of German, that is, in 448, A. D., if we follow Alford, or in 450 if Usher be heard. But it has been proved beyond question, from contemporary writers, that the Saxons made occasional descents upon the island long before their final settlement. So early as the beginning of the reign of Valentinian I., that is, about 364, the Britons were attacked by them. And to secure them from the insults of this foreign enemy,

a subsequent emperor appointed a Comes Littoris Saxonici, that is, a Commanding Officer, to guard the coasts of Britain which were most exposed to their assaults.¹ Nay, earlier even than this, in 286, during the reign of Diocletian, Entropius tells us that the Saxons, with the Franks, infested the Districts of Belgica and Armorica, the latter of which faces the southern coast of Britain, which consequently must have shared in the calamity.² For all contemporary writers bear witness to the boldness and extent of their piratical exploits. "The Saxons, says Orosius the historian, who dwell on the shores of the Atlantic (what we should call the North Sea), in the midst of impassable marshes, are a nation terrible for their courage and activity, and highly formidable to the Roman power."³ "It is a mere amusement, says Sidonius Apollinaris, for the pirate Saxon to cut through the British Sea in his pinnace of osier and skins."⁴ And in fact the Saxons in these light skiffs, similar in materials to those described by Herodotus with regard to the Armenians, used to undertake very distant expeditions. They were known to have penetrated as far as the Columns of Hercules at the extremity of Spain, and Britain which lay foremost in their way naturally became the object of continual aggression. What was the precise situation of their own country is not very clear. The words of Orosius, just quoted, seem to show that they occupied the coast of Germany which extends

¹ Ammian. Marcellin. Hist. Lib. 26. apud Usserium.—Notit. Imper.—Collier.

² Dubos, tom. i. p. 75.

³ Ibid. 169.

⁴ Sid. Apoll. Paneg. Aviti. See also Hegesippus Eccl. Hist. Lib. v. Pliny. Hist. Lib. iv. ch. 16. Lucan Pharsal. Lib. iv. Cæsar. Comment. Lib. 1. Bell. Civ. Herod Clío. 194. ch.

between the Rhine and the Weser, known by the name of Friesland. And such is the opinion of a writer of those parts, Bernardus Furnerius, in his *Annals of the Frisian people*.¹

While German and Lupus were in Britain, one of these plundering expeditions of the Saxons took place. They joined their forces to those of the Picts, the eternal enemies of the Britons, and made a descent upon the coasts of North Wales, in Flintshire. They chose a favourable spot for their attack, having rowed or towed their boats up the river Dee, and landed under the Welsh hills, near Mold. The Britons, who had assembled to oppose them, found themselves unable to cope with the peculiar tactics of their enemy, and were constrained to remain within their own entrenchments. The descriptions which have been left of the mode of attack practised by the Saxons, will best explain the reasons of their embarrassment.

In their light vessels, which they were careful to fill with expert and resolute men, the Saxons never used to lose sight of the land, if possible ; and indeed the nature of their boats required but little depth of water. When a storm came on, they took refuge in some creek, or beneath the cliffs on the coast. At the return of the fair weather, they again left their place of refuge, and directing their course from cape to cape, they stopped wherever any occasion of plunder offered. The want of our modern resources of artillery rendered all offensive measures against these invaders quite useless. It was a frequent custom with them, as in the present occasion, to navigate up the rivers which came in their way ; and sometimes they might have been found at

¹ Ed. 1609. *Franecaræ*.

the distance of fifty leagues from the sea, like the Normans in the ninth century, whose predatory fleets were seen in the Seine under the walls of Paris. When they had advanced so far into the land as to begin to lack depth of water, the men got ashore to lighten the boats which they towed along. A whole army of them thus used to descend upon those defenceless tracts of country where the vigilance of the Maritime Commanders had not prevented their progress. The chief means which were employed to resist them consisted in the use of a number of flat boats which the Roman Government had stationed in the rivers, and bridges thrown across the stream near the walls of cities to obstruct the passage of the enemy.¹ An extract from a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris will show how difficult it was to repel them, and will illustrate some characteristics of their manners as well as those of their allies the Picts and Scots. He writes thus to a friend :

“ I have been informed that you have given the signal of departure to your fleet, and are performing the parts of both sailor and soldier, wandering along the tortuous coasts of the sea in pursuit of those long curved skiffs of the Saxons.² Of course as many of them as you perceive at the oar, you may reckon to be so many arch-pirates ; for indeed all at once command, obey, instruct, and learn to plunder. I have great reason then in recommending precaution to you. These of all our enemies are the most fierce. They attack by surprise, and escape when discovered. They despise your preparations, and yet, if you do not take measures, they are instantly upon you. They never

¹ Vid. Dubos, p. 175 and 75.

² “ Pandos myoparones.”

pursue without success, never make away without impunity. Shipwrecks instead of alarming them, are a mere exercise. With the perils of the sea they are more than acquainted, they are familiar. If a tempest supervene, they know this, that their designed victims will be off their guard, and that they will escape notice out at sea. And in the midst of the waves and the rocks, there they play with danger, expecting shortly a successful descent. If, when about to set sail for their own country, they weigh anchor before their enemy's coast, they have this preliminary custom. Just before they start, they decimate their captives for cruel tortures, which are the more horrid from the superstition that dictates them. They think that chance which presides at the drawing of lots is of that equitable nature, that all the iniquity which might be imputed to such frightful slaughter is as a matter of course removed. And as if purified by these sacrifices, not rather polluted by the sacrilege, the perpetrators of this bloody deed make it a point of religion to prefer the death of their captives to any proffered ransom."

It was this last practice mentioned by Sidonius, which made probably Salvian some years before call the Saxons emphatically the savage Saxons.¹ It does not appear the Picts and Scots were less cruel under the similar influence of Paganism and superstition. The two Apostles of those nations, St. Palladius and St. Patrick, had not yet set out to convert them.

The combined forces of these nations were laying waste the country of Flintshire, and forcing the Britons who had assembled to oppose them, to remain within their entrenchments, when a deputation arrived in the

¹ "Ferus Saxon," De Gubern.

parts where German and Lupus were preaching, and requested them as a last resource to come to the assistance of the exposed army. They readily complied, and hastening their progress, soon arrived near Mold, in Flintshire, or as the Welsh call it, Guid-cruc, where they found the Britons collected. Their arrival infused at once joy and confidence into all hearts, as if holiness, we are told, had been in itself an equivalent to a large army. The two Prelates were then constituted Generals of the British Forces, one of the earliest instances in which ecclesiastical rulers are known to have taken the lead in military exploits.

It was now the season of Lent, that is, the spring of the year 430. The Britons were wont to observe the Forty Days with particular solemnity ; and the presence of German and Lupus now added to the strictness of their observance. Every day the two Bishops preached to the soldiers ; insomuch, says Constantius, that there was a general wish to receive the grace of Baptism ; and a great number were initiated into the Church at the river Alen which ran beside the camp.¹ By this we are to understand that there were as yet many Pagans in Britain, which the analogy of other countries would confirm, or that there were many persons, who, though professing the Christian religion, deferred their baptism till the last, according to a corrupt custom very prevalent in all Christendom, which was frequently reprobated from the pulpit, and of which Constantine the Great had been a striking example.² But this last cause, which has escaped the at-

¹ Alen is called Strat-Alen by the Welsh. See Camden.

² Vid. St. Chrys. ad Acta Apost. Hom. I., and Bingham, who has explained the various reasons of the practice.

tention of critics, need not be taken alone. Probably the Catechumens were a mixed number of both classes.

The Saturday night, called the Great Sabbath, and the following morning of Easter Day were the times appointed in the Church for Baptism ; and apparently were devoted to this purpose in the army of the Britons. On Easter Day, which this year fell on the 30th of March, a temporary Church was erected with the branches of trees, and adapted to the offices of religion like churches in towns.¹ Hither the people fresh from the waters of Baptism thronged to celebrate the Resurrection of our Lord. While they were thus employed, the enemy who received intelligence of what was going on in the British army immediately seized the opportunity, and advanced towards the camp. Their march was announced just as the Solemnities of Easter were concluded. The neophyte army filled with extraordinary ardour prepared for battle. German acted the part of commander. With some light troops he proceeded to survey the country ; and found in the direction which the enemy would necessarily take, a valley surrounded with high hills. Here he posted the body of his army. Soon after the Saxons and the Picts arrived at the entrance of the valley, secure of victory, and unconscious of any ambuscade. Suddenly a loud shout of Alleluia resounded in the mountains, and Alleluia passed from hill to hill, gathering strength as it was re-echoed on all sides. Consternation filled them at once ; and as if the rocks were ready to fall and crush them, seized with a general panic they immediately took to flight, leaving their arms, baggage, and

¹ Tillemont xv. 18.

even clothes behind them. A large number perished in the river. The Britons who had remained motionless, and were by order of German the authors of the cry of Alleluia, now came forth to collect the spoils of a victory which all acknowledged the gift of Heaven. Thus says Constantius, did Faith obtain a triumph, without slaughter, with two Bishops for leaders. Thus might it be said with a modern writer, does the Church conquer. "Not by strength of arm, by a soldiery, implements of war, strong holds, silver and gold ; for of these she has none ; but by the visible tokens of a Divine ministry ; by the weapons of God."¹

The memory of this battle is still preserved by the inhabitants of Flintshire ; and the place where the armies were situated, bears even now the name of Maes Garmon, or the Field of German. It is about a mile from Mold. A glance at the map will show that the mountainous nature of the country afforded both scope for an ambuscade and a convenient locality for the landing of the Barbarians. To this event, which goes in history by the name of the Alleluiatic Victory, Gregory the Great three hundred years after seems to have alluded, in his Commentary on the Book of Job : "The Faith of the Lord," he says, "has now found entrance into the hearts of almost all people ;² and has united in one bond the Eastern and Western regions. Behold the tongue of the Briton, once wont to howl in barbarous sounds, has since learnt to resound the Hebrew Alleluia in praise to God. The ocean once so boisterous is become subservient to the will of Saints ;

¹ Sermons on Subjects of the Day, p. 274.

² Vid. apud Usserium, p. 333., and Alford, an. 429.

and its rage, which the arm of princes is unable to tame, is fettered by the simple word of God's Priests."

It may seem somewhat strange to the student that Gildas should not have made mention of this signal event, in his History of Britain, previous to the Saxon Conquest. In that work the name of St. German is not once mentioned. It may be answered that Gildas, in another work which, according to the earliest tradition, he was supposed to have written, did probably give a special notice of St. German and his deeds. Walfrid of Monmouth tells us that through St. German and St. Lupus, God manifested many miracles, *which Gildas in his Treatise had clearly set forth*. And we learn that besides his History and Epistle, Gildas wrote an account of the victory of Aurelius Ambrosius who lived about this time.¹ And though it may be said that the History of Nennius is often attributed to Gildas by early writers, yet we have no proof that this particular work was the same as the History which now is given to Nennius; besides which Nennius himself in many parts of his book may be looked upon as the Transcriber of Gildas. But furthermore in Gildas's acknowledged history, he is any thing but circumstantial, and he confesses himself that he wrote from foreign report, and not from the records of native writers,² adding that precision in that account was not always to be expected of him. And in truth much of his history is vague and applicable to any revolution caused by foes from without and dissensions within. Again Gildas was further removed from the times he describes than Constantius, and even sup-

¹ See Usher, 335 and 101.

² Transmarinâ relatione, p. 13.

posing he had nowhere commemorated St. German's great deeds, the contrary of which is more probable, yet the confusion which the Saxon Conquest had thrown over the past, and the straits to which Gildas was exposed through emigration, might account for important omissions. But there is more than this, it is believed that in one of his indefinite descriptions of the state of the Britons he has expressly alluded to the Alleluiatic Victory, when he says, "Then for the first time the Britons obtained a victory over the enemy who for many years had occupied their land, *because they confided not in man but in God*, according to the saying of Philo : 'when human aid fails, one must have recourse to Divine assistance.' Then the daring enemies rested for a season ; but the corruption of the Britons afterward returned ; the public foes retired from the land, but not the nation from their crimes."

Now the great objection to this view is, that Gildas assigns the event in question to a time subsequent to the embassy of the Britons to Aetius, which took place in 446. Therefore, it may be said, it could not coincide with St. German's first mission, which we have assigned to 429, though it might if the chronology of Bede and others be preferred to that of Prosper. But without making this any ground for delaying St. German's first mission, for the authority of Gildas in this point would be next to none, still it is very conceivable that Gildas may have referred the victory against the barbarians to his second mission,¹ which in fact did take place after the embassy to Aetius, that is, in 447 ; or may altogether have confounded the two visits of the Saint to this Island, which is the more probable, as

¹ The learned Carte in a note inclines to this also, p. 182.

his imitator, Nennius, who is so full about St. German, does not seem to have been aware of them, and Gildas affords no trace of having been acquainted with Constantius's work ; both he and Nennius following authorities of their own. The learned moreover are agreed that the chronology and precision of Gildas are by no means to be pressed without examination. Yet as there is reason also to think he would not have mentioned a fact without foundation for it, the passage above quoted is conceived to be a real and distinct reference to the Alleluiatic Victory, which was so especially the gift of Heaven.

Lastly, if a conjecture may be hazarded, the very indistinctness in which Bede has involved his chronology of this period, may have arisen from the confusion of the two visits of St. German by Gildas, or at least by his having postponed the Alleluiatic Victory. Induced by Constantius, his chief authority on one hand, he preserved the connexion between the first overthrow of Pelagianism and the Victory, while on the other following Gildas as to the probable date of the latter, because Constantius had assigned none, he transferred the combined circumstances to the late epoch of 449.¹ And this may account in some measure for his seeming neglect of St. Prosper's authority, (if indeed he was acquainted with the copy of that writer's *Chronicon* which has here been considered genuine,) namely, that Gildas had referred the Alleluiatic Victory to a period about twenty years later than that to which St. Prosper assigns the first overthrow of Pelagianism, and Bede did not think himself justified in breaking the connexion which Constantius had observed, a connexion

¹ See *Epit. Eccl. Hist. et Sex Ætat. Mundi*.

which after all Constantius himself may (not impossibly) have been misinformed in.

CHAPTER XV.

English Traditions.

GERMAN and Lupus remained less than a year in Britain, but during that short time they rendered invaluable services to the people. There are many difficulties connected with this part of their history, as regards those facts which are not specified by Constantius. But it is manifest from numerous and circumstantial traditions that they effected a reform in many ways in the political constitution as well as in the Church. Those changes which relate to the former will be reserved for a subsequent consideration, since they properly belong to St. German's second visit to Britain, during which he was brought more directly into intercourse with king Vortigern. The following few traditions, out of many, will illustrate the ecclesiastical and moral improvements which are attributed to the sojourn of German and Lupus in this country.

“The two Bishops,” says an ancient record of high authority, “after having extirpated the Pelagian heresy,¹ consecrated Bishops in many places, but chiefly among the Britons of the Eastern provinces (the Welsh.) Foremost among these was the blessed Dubricius, a doctor of great learning, whom they conse-

¹ Apud Usserium, 79, and Stillingfleet, 207.

crated Archbishop, as elected by the king and the whole diocese. When German had conferred this dignity upon him, they appointed him his Episcopal See, with the consent of Mouricus the king, the princes, the clergy and the people, at Landaff, and dedicated the place to St. Peter the Apostle."

From this centre issued many other distinguished Bishops. Daniel was made Bishop of Bangor, and Iltutus Bishop of Llan Iltut. The whole island in short was filled with the disciples of German.¹ Besides St. Dubricius, St. Iltutus, we hear of St. Thelias, St. Sampson, St. Aidanus, St. David, St. Paulinus, St. Cadocus, surnamed Sophus, or the Wise, (who went to Rome and became Bishop of Beneventum in Italy, where he was murdered before the altar,) St. Briocus, since first Bishop of St. Brieux in Brittany, St. Patrick, St. German (called after St. German of Auxerre,) who went to Scotland,* and others.²

Another tradition informs us that "when almost all the inhabitants of Cambridge (which Usher will not allow to be *the* Cambridge) had been endangered by the adversaries of God (the Pelagians,) Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, defended the students with a powerful hand. From their body, it is added, the holy doctors, German and Lupus, selected assistants to help them in expelling the heresy and other errors while they proclaimed the way of God in various parts of the kingdom. By God's aid they came to Caer Leon in Glamorganshire, where they not only taught the Sacred Scriptures, but also instructed the youth in other liberal sciences, wherein reason is the guide and nature the

¹ Collier, tom. i. p. 111. Alford an. 437.

² Bosch. Comm. Præv. vii. Bolland. Usher 339.

study. And thus some became profound in astronomy and other learning, and were able to observe the course of the stars with success ; others foretold prodigies which were to occur about that time among the Britons ; while others despising the world and its enjoyments, from love of a heavenly life cleaving to God alone, turned their devout thoughts to the contemplation of Holy Scripture and to Prayer ; among whom were Tremmerinus, Dubricius, Theonotus, Eldadus, David, Swithunus, Dumianus, who laboured with constancy and proficiency in the exposition of the Scriptures."

Such accounts, while they illustrate the great activity of German and Lupus, are also the foundation somewhat uncertain of the antiquity claimed for the university of Cambridge. There may be some partiality in preferring the claims of Oxford as better supported, but it is rather with a view to show the far spreading influence of our Saints' fame, that the following interesting circumstances are here produced.

"In 886, A. D., we are told, a fierce contention arose in Oxford between Grymbald with the learned men he brought with him and the old students whom he found in that city. These last refused altogether to admit the laws, forms and usages, which Grymbald introduced into the Public Lectures. For the three first years the open dissension was but small, and animosity remained concealed. But afterwards it broke out with great fury. To appease the disturbance, Alfred, that invincible king, says the record, having through Grymbald made himself acquainted with the causes, came to Oxford to put an end to the controversy. Here he underwent much labour in hearing and judging the disputes of the parties. The sum of their quarrel was as follows : The old students affirmed that before Grymbald came

to Oxford, letters had been in a flourishing condition there ; although the numbers of the students had diminished of late from the tyranny of the Pagan conquerors. Moreover they clearly proved by the authority of the Ancient Annals, that the statutes and regulations had been established by men of great piety and learning, such as St. Gildas, Melkinus, Nennius, Kentigern and others, who all grew old in Oxford in the study of letters, and governed with peace and concord. Furthermore that St. German also had come to Oxford and spent half a year there, at the time when he travelled through Britain to oppose the Pelagians ; and he expressed, they affirmed, his admiration distinctly for the statutes of the place. King Alfred having heard both sides, (we do not learn what the opposite school urged in their favour), exerted his authority in recommending unanimity. He then departed, charging them to follow each their respective customs with mutual forbearance. But Grymbald highly displeased at this arbitration, immediately left Oxford for the Monastery of Winchester, which Alfred had recently founded. Afterwards he caused his remains to be buried in the vaults of the Church of St. Peter at Oxford, which Grymbald had erected from the very foundations with *carefully polished stone*."

Without pronouncing upon the authenticity of such evidence, which Camden is more disposed to receive than Usher, there is one circumstance relating to the subject-matter which has not often been noticed, and yet is of some importance. In every large town, it has already been remarked, public schools had been established by the Roman government ; and, after the pattern of Gaul and other provinces of the empire, Professors of Letters, Science, and Philosophy, were main-

tained at the public expense. If, then, Oxford and Cambridge existed in these early times, as chief towns, (and it is probable they did) they would, as a matter of course, have had their schools and literary appointments. The question then is, whether they were destroyed by the Saxon invaders and only restored at a later period, or whether, amid the general havoc occasioned by the invasion, they alone survived, and transmitted their learning and statutes to future generations. Until this matter be settled, it is useless to seek for Universities in Roman times, for all great towns then were privileged with them. The doubt is, whether the connexion remained unbroken, for which the above evidence in favour of Oxford, seems to be in point. *Sed videbunt alii.*

On the whole, says Carte, there is no room to doubt of the institution of schools of learning by St. German, which are attested by many ancient writers, and universally admitted by the learned critics and antiquarians of later ages.¹

But to advert, lastly, to another class of services which German and Lupus are said to have rendered to Britain, a document of the seventh century asserts that they introduced the Gallican Liturgy into the British Church. "The Blessed Cassian" it says, "who lived in the Monastery of Lerins with the blessed Honoratus, and afterwards Honoratus the first Abbot, and St. Cesarius, Bishop of Arles, and St. Porcarius, Abbot also of Lerins, observed this Liturgical Use (the Gallican.) And in the same monastery with them were the blessed German and Lupus as monks, and they also followed the same Rule and the same Use in divine

¹ T. i. p. 182.

service. They, in process of time, obtained the dignity due to their sanctity, and subsequently, in Britain and in the regions of the Scots, came and taught, as we read in the lives of the two Saints."

This statement, of course, is faulty in many respects. We do not hear of Cassian having lived at Lerins. St. Victor, at Marseilles, was his monastery. Though St. Lupus was monk at Lerins, St. German is nowhere else said to have resided there, and the circumstances of his life would not well admit of it. The main information, however, which the author intended to convey, namely, that German and Lupus introduced the Liturgical Use of Gaul into Britain, may nevertheless be authentic. The Public Service of the Church at that time was not so universally settled as to make this introduction an irregularity, even supposing there were no adequate sanction for it. Nor is this the place to draw invidious distinctions between the Roman and the Gallican Liturgy, as Stillingfleet and Collier are pleased to do ;¹ we must beware of carrying modern prejudices and controversies into the study of the ancients, just as (to borrow an illustration from a recent writer) we may not seek Calvinism in St. Augustine, or Arminianism in St. Chrysostom.

¹ Still. Orig. 221. Collier i. 112.

CHAPTER XVI.

St. German's Return to Gaul.

THE two Bishops, having accomplished the object of their journey, by suppressing the heresy of the Pelagians, and done other great deeds for the Britons, after the lapse of about a year, embarked again for Gaul, amid the acclamations of an immense multitude assembled to see them off. They carried with them the sacred dust from St. Alban's tomb, and arrived safe at the opposite coast. They afterwards parted company, and returned to their respective Sees.

St. Lupus, of whom we must now take a final leave, governed the Church of Troyes for many years, during which he saved that city from the fury of Attila, king of the Huns, and distinguished himself by his learning, wisdom, and heroic sanctity. Notwithstanding a life of excessive austerity, he protracted his existence to the great age of ninety-six, and died in 479, in the fifty-second year of his Episcopate, about twenty years after the death of his old companion German. This is one of those instances, among many others, which made Lord Bacon wonder that the ancient Saints, with their rigid asceticism, should have lived so long.

St. German was accompanied on his return by one of his new disciples, St. Briocus, before mentioned. St. Briocus was a Briton of a noble family. St. German instructed him in the science of holiness, and Briocus greatly profited by his precepts. After he had

drunk deep, says history, at the fountains of sound doctrine, he returned from Gaul to his country ; and there taught his parents the true faith, and went about preaching everywhere. Being desirous, however, of improving more abundantly the talent of the Lord, he retired to Armorica, or Brittany, in Gaul. Here he effected the conversion of Count Conan, and baptized him. Then collecting some persons anxious to lead a religious life, he erected a Monastery at St. Brioux, so called after himself, on the foundations granted by Conan. He then received the Episcopal consecration, from the Metropolitan of Tours, and presided over his diocese with great honour for nearly thirty years. Finally, having gone to Angers on ecclesiastical business, he there breathed his last.¹ St. Briocus may be taken as a specimen of St. German's missionary success.

¹ Usher 997. Alford an. 437.

ERRATA.

Page 61, lines 25 and 30, for Marmontier read Marmoutier.

CHAPTER XVII.

Twelve Years.

A GREAT work accomplished, a great event brought to pass through him or before his eyes, a man's character is at once altered ; he is suddenly raised in the scale of being. The change is not merely outward, it is not a mere shifting of position ; for though all before was in preparation, and the materials were in readiness, yet the combining power of one action seems to bring out of them a new nature—a new life. Those elements which were either disjoined or connected without unity, now become one, and assume a shape and permanent consistency. Moreover as all true knowledge resides in the relation of ideas, and knowledge has a tendency to produce confidence, when circumstances throw a fresh light upon this relation, man seems to acquire a further insight into his own character and condition, and his confidence, whether in himself or in Him whose instrument he is, is proportionably increased. We have but to consider what the feelings are of a warrior who has just gained his first great battle—what he was yesterday, what to-day ; or again, the emotions and thoughts of one who has escaped from the grasp of death and been restored to health and powers of reflection ; or the ideas which unexpected preservation from the terrors of the sea excite in the breast of those who are safely landed ; and we shall understand something of that mysterious change which one action, one event can effect in man.

St. German's victory over the Pelagians is an instance of such a change. His original Biographer is

indeed silent on the subject. Near in time to the circumstances of his life, Constantius sees the Saint from beginning to end ; and in one sense he may be right. No one is chosen to be general who has not given proof of his skill. St. German was doubtless well suited to the great work he accomplished in Britain. Yet on attentive reflection we cannot help looking upon him as a higher being after than before. His previous austerities, prayers, acts of mercy, deeds of power and energy were exercises and tokens of the same character—but here is the sacrament, here God's seal and justification. This is strengthened by a further consideration.

As great actions are made the occasion of God's approval, so they are a kind of signal to men in general to determine their appreciation of an individual character. Whether it be from some vicious infirmity in the large body of mankind, or from some wise provision of Almighty God, so it is, that the greatest excellences may fail to attract that notice which they ought, unless some definite and producible object of men's ideas and language be brought out by new circumstances. It is surprising how general opinion changes by a new phasis of the same qualities and powers. What before was a timid and half-recognized regard becomes at once avowed and ardent admiration.

Something of this kind is perceptible in St. German's life. On the one hand he seems to be really a more exalted being after his mission to Britain ; on the other he is the object of an universal enthusiasm out of proportion, as it were, with the nature of the change. It is subsequently to that period, that we hear of multitudes thronging from all quarters to obtain a sight of him, to get his blessing, to try his miraculous gifts ; and that

the welfare of Gaul is supposed to be endangered if he be not enlisted in its service, political as well as ecclesiastical. What death accomplishes for other Saints, stamping their virtues and achievements with a sure seal, this was done for St. German, (it may be said without partiality) by his Apostolic ministry in our Island. Contrast with his the lives of other eminent Saints. St. Chrysostom or St. Jerome, for instance, were, if any, illustrious servants of Christ ; yet before their death we can hardly say that they obtained that acknowledged and unqualified reverence which partakes of the honour paid to Canonized Saints. In the case however of the first Apostles we think we discern from the very beginning those tokens of a veneration, ever after to belong to them. "The sick were brought forth into the streets, and laid on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them."¹ "From the body of Paul were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them."² Let the reader judge by the history of St. German's life subsequent to his return from Britain, whether he did not obtain after the first twelve years of his ministry a considerable portion of that outward honour, which the immediate Apostles of Christ owned from the beginning at Pentecost. It is usually said that every one Saint is exalted above all others, according as he is made the object of particular attention, or has local and accidental claims upon our regard. But this can never serve as a test. A case given, it cannot antecedently be pronounced of inferior

¹ Acts v. 15.² Acts xix. 12.

merits on a principle so vague as this. After all, the facts which constitute the case must first be examined, and to these in the present instance the reader is referred.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Towns of Gaul.

THE return of St. German to Auxerre was in the year 430. About a year had elapsed since his departure. His absence had been much felt. For while he on one hand raised the Church to a condition of great honour in Gaul, on the other he was called upon to act the part of magistrate ; and his conduct showed that he knew how to defend the interests of his fellow-citizens.

Auxerre, as we have observed before, though implicated in the general devastations of the Goths, did not till a later period remain long in the possession of any barbarian people. The Burgundians, who occupied a large district of Gaul to the south-east, had stretched their boundaries to the neighbourhood of Auxerre, but the city itself and its dependent territories did not then, or indeed ever, belong to them, as some have supposed.¹ The Franks who at a subsequent period, about 482, extended their kingdom over this part of Gaul, were, at the time of St. German's return, shut up in a small district to the north of Gaul.² And the Goths had

¹ Vid. D'Anville. Descript. France. Thierry Lettres. Bouquet. tom. i. 805, ad notas Tillemont, xv. 838.

² Gibbon, tom. iv. 277-283.

passed on to the south-west, where they had established a large principality, which was every day increasing. But that long strip of land, which follows the course of the Saône and then the Rhone down to the sea, still belonged to the Romans, who also were masters of the whole of the northern provinces.

During German's absence an unusual tribute had been laid by these last authorities upon the inhabitants of Auxerre, the burden of which excited the most bitter complaints. This town however was but a single example of a general system of oppression which then prevailed, and was one of the prominent characteristics of the age. Among other various reasons for it, the Roman government had daily become more urgent in its demands for supplies ; and the provinces of Gaul as being in the centre of war, were the special victims of all kinds of exaction. Up to this time Aetius, the chief defence of the Empire since the death of Stilicho, had been at the head of the Roman armies in Gaul. He was opposing at once the Burgundians in one quarter, the Franks in another, the Goths in another, and the Insurgents¹ in a fourth. To enable him to maintain sufficient troops, the Government drained the land of men and money. In fact, as Salvian says, "the Roman Republic was either entirely extinct in Gaul, or in those parts where it seemed to be still breathing, the heavy fetters of tribute were fast suffocating its dying energies."²

What these impositions were, may best be conceived from the same author's language of grief. The burden of them fell on the poor and middle classes, while the powerful took occasion of them to augment their own wealth. "The Prefecture, which was the highest civil

¹ Bacaudæ.

² p. 75.

office of the province, was too often, he says, but an excuse for plunder ; the dignity of the imperial magistrates¹ a mere field for the pillage of towns.”² The methods resorted to were of the following nature. First there was a general heavy task laid upon every city, “the effects of which however severe and cruel, would at least have been tolerable, if all had shared them equally ; but what made them the more invidious, the indigent had to bear all the imposts, the rich were exempt.”³

Furthermore there were often laid on individual cities, besides the general assessment, extraordinary taxes.⁴ “This was the way, he continues ; new messengers arrived, secretaries and bearers of letters sent from the chief officers of the crown. They were introduced to the nobles of the city, and with them decreed the ruin of the people ; new taxes were forthwith resolved and published, and the poor had to pay.”⁵ The nobles, who assisted the extortions of the governors, might pretend to submit to the public tribute, but they always left the discharge of it to the people. And not content with this, contrived to increase their own private exactions under colour of public demands ; the consequences of which seem to have been the most grievous calamity of the time.

To all the severe and even unnecessary measures which the administration enforced, the people might cheerfully have acceded, and accepted the emergencies of war as an excuse, though often unjust, if they had met with kindness and equity among their own rich citizens and nobles. Nothing can exceed the picture which has been left of the barbarity of the nobles to-

¹ Sublimium.² p. 72.³ p. 110.⁴ Adjectiones tributarias.⁵ p. 110.

wards the poor. We might be at a loss among so many proofs to select any in preference, but the following fact, related by the same contemporary author, will serve at least to indicate the spirit of the times. Salvian is intending to illustrate the facility with which men forswore themselves and took Christ's name in vain. "A short time ago," he says, "at the earnest request of a certain poor man, I went to intercede with a powerful nobleman. I entreated him not to rob an indigent and wretched person of his small substance ; not to take away the poor pittance which supported his need. The nobleman, who had coveted his little property with a rabid desire, and was already devouring in expectation his spoils, turned his fierce eyes towards me, with frightful expression, as if he thought I wished to take away from him that which he was only desired not take away himself. 'He could by no means comply with my request,' he answered, and seemed to imply that some sacred order or deed bound him to refuse me. I asked the cause of his denial. 'A most urgent cause,' he replied. 'I have sworn, by the name of Christ, that I will take away this property ; and you see, he continued, that I can not, may not, refrain from what I have thus pledged myself to.' The crime which could claim religion for its excuse silenced me. What could I do when such a theory of justice and religion was propounded ? I therefore departed."¹

The consequence of these multiplied miseries was a threefold political evil. The poor, and in general those who happened to be inferiors to the nobles, or the provincial senatorial class of men which then occupied an important station, were at last forced "to deliver them-

¹ p. 91.

selves up to the more powerful citizens ; they became the *Dedititii* of the rich, that is, neither more nor less than their slaves : their very property and right.”¹ The important class of the *Curiales*, or those Burghers who had enjoyed many privileges and offices within their towns, was now fast disappearing. Every where men were selling their patrimony and themselves, for a temporary support and defence. “ These poor sufferers, who might seem to be gaining a protection, first gave up almost their whole substance to their protectors ; whereby the fathers were indeed protected, but the sons lost their inheritance : the price of protection to the one was mendicity to the others.”² The immense accession of numbers which thus accrued to the afflicted class of the *Coloni*, or Tenants, and Slaves can hardly be calculated. “ When men have lost their houses and are expelled their estates, by unjust appropriation, or by extortion, they then betake themselves to the farms of the powerful ; they become in short the *Coloni*, the Tenants of the rich.”³ Many who were thus degraded were persons who had previous wealth and respectability to boast of. “ No longer able to keep the mansion or the dignity of their birthright, they were obliged to submit to the abject yoke of a Tenant.”⁴

On the other hand many abandoned their own country, gave up the name and ties of Romans, which formerly were deemed an honour to Gaul, and went over to the barbarians, the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Franks. It was a sad sight to see “ many who were born of respectable families, and had received a liberal education, flee for safety to the enemy, to escape the death of a public persecution at home, and seek

¹ p. 113.² p. 113.³ p. 114.⁴ p. 115.

among barbarians those humane feelings which were thought to belong only to the Roman world.”¹ Here of course they were captives ; but it is remarked that such captivity was preferable to liberty at home ; those titles of franchise which were so long the glory of the municipal city, were now but empty rights. “The Roman name was becoming vile, nay even abhorred.”²

Lastly, the oppression of the inferior classes in Gaul produced an extensive and alarming rebellion ; and a vast confederacy of Insurgents, who went by the name of *Bacaudæ*, gradually was formed within the Roman dominions. Their chief seat was in those maritime provinces, which border the English channel, and went by the generic name of *Armorica*. Here they seem to have settled into a kind of Republic, which gave constant exercise to the Roman Generals, who endeavoured to suppress it, and bring back the seceding countries to the empire. An occasion will present itself hereafter of considering more at length this *Armorican* confederacy, or *Bacaudæ*, as they furnished the last field for St. German’s untiring exertions. It is sufficient here to mark this fact which by contemporary authors was declared to be the express result of the oppression of the poor in the Roman provinces. “We call them rebels, says Salvian, and abandoned men ; yet we are they who have compelled them to be such. For what is the cause of their becoming *Bacaudæ*, unless it be our injustices, the iniquities of our magistrates, the proscription and pillage exercised upon them . . . the tributary extortion practised with regard to them ?”³

To relieve his people at Auxerre, who were now

¹ p. 107.

² p. 108.

³ p. 108.

suffering from these evils, was the immediate purpose of German. When extraordinary taxes were laid upon a city too poor to answer the demand, there were such things as *remedies* in use at the time. These remedies,¹ as the expression was, were simply dispensations granted by the Prefect, the first magistrate ; and though such dispensations, in many cases, were perverted by the nobles to the grossest excesses of private extortion, yet if German could but provide one for his people, he might in a great measure secure it from abuses elsewhere prevalent. Bishops in the fifth century were the stay of the people—the only one ; and Bishops at that time were Saints and heroes. Careless, therefore, of fatigue, though he had undergone so much of late, he immediately prepared for another journey.

CHAPTER XIX.

St. German at Arles.

THE seat of government was then at Arles, as it has been remarked, and there the Prefect of all Gaul resided. It is necessary to be precise in all these particulars, since serious chronological mistakes, for want of distinctness, seem to have here been made by many writers. *Auxiliaris* was the name of the Prefect, as Constantius plainly says ; from which circumstance many have thought the date of this extraordinary taxing which German found on his return, was as late

¹ Remedia.

as 444, A. D., if not later, because there is a famous letter of Auxiliaris to St. Hilary,¹ of Arles, written in 444, wherein the former endeavours to reconcile Hilary with Pope Leo, and which he wrote, we learn, when he was Prefect ; and they have urged this as a reason for postponing German's visit to Britain. But the diligence of the Bollandists has shown that Auxiliaris was no longer Prefect of Gaul when he wrote this, but Prefect of Rome or Italy ; which assertion is supported by the learned Bouquet, Pagi, Baluzius, and Quesnel ;² and moreover, an inscription which is still to be seen at Narbonne, seems to prove that Marcellus, not Auxiliaris, was Prefect of Gaul between 441 and 445. So far, therefore, from anything in this circumstance invalidating the date we have assigned to German's return from Britain, (i. e. the year 430) if the fact be true that Auxiliaris had ceased to be Prefect of Gaul in 444, this is in itself a satisfactory reason for placing the mission of St. German to our island in 429.

German set off then to Arles, with a very small company, and with a scanty supply of provisions. Christ, says Constantius, was gold and silver to him. The great Roman road to Arles would pass through Autun, Châlons, Tournus, Mâcon, Belleville, Anse, Lyon, Vienne, St. Rambert, St. Vallier, Thain, Valence, Le Bégude, Ancoune, St. Pol Tricartin, Orange, Avignon, and St. Gabriel,³ the whole of which was signalized by some token of his Apostolical gifts.

The day was a rainy one when he left Auxerre ; towards the evening, as he had passed the boundaries

¹ Vid. Laccary Hist. Gall. sub. Præf. 137.

² Historiens de la Gaule, t. i. p. 643. Quesnel. Diss. t. ii. p. 784. Biogr. Univ. Art. Hilaire.

³ Itin. Anton. in Descrip. de Gaule, B. 40, Bodl. Libr.

of his diocese, he was overtaken by a traveller who had neither shoes nor coat. Grieved to see his nakedness, German suffered him to lodge under the same roof at night. But while he and his attendants were employed in their devotions, the stranger carried off by stealth the horse on which the Bishop rode. The next morning the theft was discovered. One of the clerical attendants offered his horse to German. They then proceeded on their way, not without the surprise of all in witnessing the unwonted serenity which appeared in his countenance. One of them asked the reason. "Let us wait a while," he said, "for we shall see that the action of that unfortunate man has been of little benefit to him ; he will soon be coming up out of breath." They then halted, and shortly after beheld the thief advancing on foot, and leading after him the horse he had taken. When he arrived, he fell down at German's feet and confessed his crime, adding, that during the whole night he had found himself unable to get away or move one step, until he had resolved to restore the animal. German answered ; "If yesterday I had given thee a cloak, there had been no need of stealing. Receive, therefore, this one as a supply for thy wants, and restore that which is my property." The stranger then departed with the garment, in addition to the pardon of his offence.

German wished not to make his journey public, but to reach the object of it with as little display as he could. But his character was now too well known, and his virtues like a city built on a hill could not escape the view of men. While on one hand he abstained from all the so called comforts of life, he avoided on the other the officious attention and concourse of strangers. There was not, however, a village or town in his way,

but all the inhabitants came out by multitudes to await his passage, and follow his steps. Men with their wives and children came flocking around him, and left him only when a fresh escort arrived to relieve them.

The first district he travelled through was that of Auxois, where there lived a Presbyter called Senator, conspicuous for his birth as well as his piety. German had been long acquainted with him, as well as his wife Nectariola, who, according to the tolerated custom of the time, continued in the same house in the capacity of sister.¹ He accordingly accepted the hospitality they offered him. There indeed was not much to offer ; but one peculiar circumstance occurred. Nectariola, unseen, placed some straw in the bed which was prepared for him, and German unconsciously slept upon it during the intervals which he reserved from his nightly prayers and psalmody.² When day returned he departed ; Nectariola then took up the straw in which he had lain, and concealed it. Some days after, one Agrestius, a person of considerable birth, who was married and had children, fell a victim to the influence of an Evil Spirit. His relations grieved that German was no longer present to relieve him. As it was, there appeared no remedy, till the wife of Senator, Nectariola, having brought forth the straw she had treasured up, enveloped the afflicted man with it. In this state he remained a whole night, calling the while upon the name of German. The next morning he was delivered of the Evil Spirit and never after visited by it.

¹ Conf. *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, tom. i. p. 152, ubi *Canons of the Council of Tours*, 567, A. D. Ibid. p. 157. *Dupin Eccl. Hist.* tom. ii. 3rd Canon of the Council of Nice. *Bingham*, B. II. Ch. xxii. p. 101 and 155.

² Vid. *Baillet Vie de Saints*, xxxi. Jul.

In the meantime, German was continuing his journey. Arrived at Mâcon, on the banks of the Saône, a river noted for its slow course, which gave it the Celtic name of Arar in antiquity,¹ he left the high-road and advanced by the water towards Lyons. Lyons was one of the principal towns of Gaul in the early ages of Christianity. The church established there we are told was of Greek institution, as its origin, rites and bishops indicated. Nearly two centuries before this time it had been the scene of one of the most dreadful persecutions, and illustrious both for the glory of its martyrs and the holiness of its bishops, among whom was St. Irenæus.² It is situated at the conflux of the Rhone and the Saône. Some have thought that St. Eucher was at this time Bishop of Lyons ; but evidence seems to be against the supposition. Constantius, who was a priest in that church, would scarcely have omitted this occasion of introducing him to the reader.³ Senator, his predecessor, apparently governed the church when German arrived there. The traveller was received by a large concourse of people of all rank and age. Every one endeavoured to come near to him. Some demanded his blessing ; others were content with touching him ; and others again rejoiced if they could but get a sight of him. Here he performed many miraculous cures upon sick persons ; and preached to the multitude who thronged to hear him. Not being able, however, to stay as long as they wished, he hastened to proceed to Arles. But his sojourn at Lyons, short

¹ Sidon. Apoll. not. ad Lib. ii. p. 237, Recens. Edit. D'Anville says it was called the Sacconna from the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, yet after him Constantius calls it Arar, and so Sidon. Apoll.

² Vid. Eusebius. ³ See Tillemont, tom. xv. Vie de St. Eucher.

as it was, left a deep and lasting impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, and was the original occasion of the biography of St. German, which Constantius the Presbyter of Lyons wrote at the request of his Bishop, St. Patiens. The letter in which he expressed his compliance with the desire of St. Patiens is still in existence.

“Constantius the sinner, sendeth greeting to his blessed and Apostolical Lord and ever revered Patron, Patiens. It is with reason that among the virtues obedience claims the highest rank. By it many attempt at least what they feel unequal to. And therefore they must be considered worthy of the praise due to devotedness, who, regardless of their own inability, submit to those that order. This being the case, since you desire, most revered Pontiff,¹ to have the wondrous gifts of a holy man set forth conspicuously, and to propose the example of his miracles as an instructive lesson to all ; and have frequently enjoined me to transmit, as well as I could, to the present and future generations, the Life of that great Saint, German the Bishop, too much obscured by silence ; I therefore accede to the work with boldness, though, at the same time, I feel conscious of presumption. Do you grant the pardon ; for I might perhaps allege that some guilt attaches to your own judgment ; you ought to have chosen a better workman for such high materials. However, we are both acting up to the principle of Love ; you think me capable when I am not, I obey readily your authoritative injunction. Pray, therefore, for me, that my labour may, through your intercession, obtain that favour which it lays no claim to on the score of desert. Farewell ! long days in Christ to thee, blessed

¹ Papa venerabilis.

prelate. Ever remember me." Thus early were Saints' Lives composed for the edification of the Christian people.

There were two ways from Lyons to Arles, either by water down the Rhone, as the custom till very late has continued,¹ or by the great Roman road which had been constructed as far as Narbonne, and which was one of the four Viæ Agrippinæ; and perhaps to this two-fold way of travelling, an allusion is made by Sidonius Apollinaris in the following verses.

“ Hinc agger sonat, hinc Arar resultat,
Hinc sese pedes atque eques reflectit
Stridentum et moderator essedorum,
Curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum
Responsantibus alleluia ripis
Ad Christum levat amnicum celeusma.
Sic, sic psallite, nauta vel viator;
Namque iste est locus omnibus petendus,
Omnes quo via ducit ad salutem.”²

It is conjectured by those that live on the spot, that the former way would most naturally be taken by the traveller. German, however, soon reached the term of his journey. As in other places, he was received at Arles amid the congratulations of the whole city. St. Hilary had lately succeeded to St. Honoratus in the Bishopric, or rather Archbishopric, of Arles. This town was then the first in Gaul. “It is an acknowledged fact, said the Bishops of the province in a letter to St. Leo, among all the people of Gaul and also in the holy church of Rome, that the city of Arles was the first which received St. Trophimus, sent by the blessed

¹ Lettres de Madame de Sévigné.

² Vid. Epis. x. Lib. ii. et Notes. Ed. 1836.

Apostle Peter (that is apparently one of his successors) and that the gift of the Faith was conveyed to the rest of Gaul through this channel...therefore it is by right and justice that Arles has always had the chief rank in this church."¹ It was not till some time after the period under consideration, that the church of Vienne claimed the precedency, owing to the dispute of St. Leo and St. Hilary.² At Arles, moreover, was fixed the residence of the Prefect of Gaul ; it had succeeded to Treves in political importance, and had been particularly favoured by Constantine the Great, who had given it the name of Constantia. Here also tyrants had fixed their abode and dealt out the honours of the Empire. The advantages of its situation are thus described in an imperial rescript :³

"The city of Arles is so conveniently situated, strangers resort to it in such great numbers, its commerce is so extensive, that whatever is of foreign growth or manufacture, is to be found there. The wealth of the opulent East, of perfumed Arabia, luxurious Syria, fertile Africa, beautiful Spain and hardy Gaul, abounds in this place to such a degree, that every thing magnificent to be seen in other parts of the world, seems here to be the very produce of the soil. The union of the Rhine and the Mediterranean brings together the territories which they respectively water ; and the whole earth seems to contribute its stores to the advantage of the town : by land and by sea and by river, carts, ships, barges, are continually carrying into its bosom the riches they have amassed."

¹ Epist. Leon. Ed. Quesnel, p. 539, Vol. I.

² Alford ad an. 440.

³ See Bouquet. tom. i. 766. and notes. Guizot, Europe.

But the chief pride of this second Tyre was its great Bishops. Holiness seemed to be the heritage of that church. St. Hilary who was then presiding over it, was, says Constantius, a man endowed with every virtue, a burning torrent of divine eloquence, an indefatigable labourer in the duties of his office, who alone spread a lustre over the diocese he governed. The reception he gave to German corresponded with the character he held. Though a metropolitan Bishop, he was much the younger of the two, having lately left the monastery of Lerins at the age of twenty-nine.¹ On the present occasion, we are told, his demeanour towards the more aged Prelate who came to visit him was that of a son to his father, and his respect like that due to an Apostle. From this time perhaps may be dated the intimacy which arose between these two eminent Saints, although there is nothing to prevent it having had an earlier origin.²

However, Auxiliaris the Prefect did not allow his friend Hilary to outstrip him in attentions to their distinguished guest. Unlike many who had filled the same high office, Auxiliaris was a faithful servant of the Church and its ministers, as he well proved afterwards in his endeavours to reconcile St. Leo with St. Hilary. He had long been desirous to know German, of whom he had heard much ; and the tidings of his arrival were highly acceptable to him. Another cause contributed to this satisfaction ; his wife had been for some time afflicted with a severe ague, and he expected German could afford relief. Before, therefore, he had entered the city, he went out to meet him. His surprise was

¹ Biog. Uni. ad vocem Hil.

² Vid. Tillem. xv. 64.

not small to find German superior to the fame he had acquired : the dignity of his countenance, his learning, his authoritative manner of speaking, filled the prefect with admiration. He offered presents, and pressed the acceptance of them. Then he acquainted him with the sickness of his wife, upon which German, without delay, accompanied him to his residence. Here he found the sufferer, and immediately healed her. The relater of this miracle is careful to attribute the departure of her fever and shiverings to the joint power of German and the faith of the lady.

Having explained the object of his journey, he easily obtained the desired *remedium*, or exemption from tribute, for the people of Auxerre. He then hastened to carry back the joyful intelligence. His presence, however, was best able to infuse true pleasure into their hearts : when he was with them, they could be content under all circumstances.

German seems occasionally to have taken long journeys through different parts of Gaul for the purpose of reviving the religious spirit of his countrymen. At this time the interference of one bishop with another in the administration of their dioceses, might not under some circumstances be deemed obtrusive. The invasion of the Barbarians had spread so great an appearance of anarchy over the country, that the Bishops might in some sense consider themselves appointed collectively over the whole country, as one diocese, to restore discipline and kindle religion wherever they could. The zeal and holiness which distinguished the Bishops of the time, would also naturally encourage this understanding between them, and supersede any regular dispensation. It is perhaps on this principle that we find German, on one occasion, preaching within the diocese

of Auvergne, which had Bishops of its own, one of whom, several years after, was the illustrious Sidonius Apollinaris. Some have thought German came to Brioude, in Auvergne, on his way back from Arles to Auxerre, just after his interview with Auxiliaris;¹ but though it would not have taken him much out of his way to pass by Auvergne, yet his anxiety to reach his native country would scarcely have allowed him to take a circuitous course, especially over a hilly country; and Constantius seems to mark distinctly his return to Auxerre before his expedition to Auvergne, which he does not assign to any particular time.² When he came to Brioude, he found the inhabitants perplexed to know on what day they ought to celebrate the martyrdom of St. Julian. St. Julian is one of the most famous martyrs of the French church. He was a native of Vienne, and of noble birth, who suffered in the Diocletian persecution while Maximian governed the Western Empire.³ At the advice of his friend Ferreolus the Tribune, he had retired to Brioude, in Auvergne, where the messengers of Crispinus the governor, found him and beheaded him. His body was interred at Brioude, and his head carried to Vienne. Gregory of Tours, who has written a special book about this martyr, tells us that many miracles were performed at his tomb; and the same Gregory considered himself under the immediate protection of St. Julian.⁴ Sidonius Apollinaris also before him, remarks, in a letter to Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, (an eminent Saint of the fifth century,⁵ who instituted the Days of Rogation,)

¹ Baillet Vie des Saints, xxviii. August.

² Sidon. Apoll. Lib. II. Lett. ix. p. 168, and not. p. 221.

³ Baillet, xxviii. Aug.

⁴ De Gloria Martyr.

⁵ Epis. i. lib. vi. p. 158.

the great honour in which St. Julian's remains were held ; and it was, in all probability, to the tomb of St. Julian that a pilgrimage was prepared by the relations of Sidonius. He describes it as full of danger, on account of the distressed state of the country from the outrages of the barbarians,¹ and at the same time commends their piety, for the design they had conceived.

When German perceived the cause of the people's grief, he said to them, "Let us pray to God. Perhaps he will reveal to us the day." When evening came, and all had retired, German, according to his custom, passed the whole night in prayer. On the following morning, he called together the chief persons of the town, and enquired whether they had had any revelation. When they answered in the negative, "Well then," said he, "know that the 28th of August is to be celebrated as St. Julian's Festival ; for I have learnt, by divine intimation, that on that day the blessed Martyr was murdered by the Pagans." When he had said this, the people present were filled with joy, and returned thanks to the Bishop for his services. It will be seen from this instance, how early importance was attached to the particular day of a Saint's death, in order to determine the Festival in his honour. No ordinary day would satisfy the people of Auvergne, and a general gloom had spread over them.

Few of the events of German's life, between his return from Britain to his second journey thither, which occupied a period of above sixteen years, have been transmitted to us by Constantius, and we have no means of supplying the deficiency from other sources, with the exception of one or two circumstances. St.

¹ Epist. vi. lib. iv. p. 337.

Hilary, we have seen, had contracted a great friendship with German,¹ which some carry up to an earlier period than the visit to Arles just related. It has been thought that Hilary was present at the Council which chose German and Lupus to go over to Britain, which is described as having been a very numerous one ; and certain it is, that could it be proved that it was held at Arles, according to Garnier's conjecture, Hilary must have been present. But without hazarding guesses, it appears that Hilary went often to see German, at Auxerre, although this town was out of his diocese, and the Bishop of Sens was German's metropolitan ; and he consulted him, we learn, upon all the questions relating to Church matters, that is, according to Honoratus of Marseilles, in his life of Hilary, "concerning the mode of government, and conduct of the different Bishops, whether their virtues or their faults."² It was this very vigilance which occasioned him trouble. The Archbishop of Arles assumed the superintendence of all the Churches of Gaul, which did not a little displease the See of Rome. About the year 444, Hilary paid a visit to German. As soon as his arrival was made known, divers persons of importance and many others, came to the two Bishops, and brought complaints of Chelidonius, Bishop of Besançon, saying that he had in former times married a widow, and when entrusted with an office in the civil government, had condemned some persons to death ;³ both which things were accounted an obstacle to the elevation of any one to a

¹ Tillemont, t. xv. p. 64.

² p. 743. t. i. Quesnel, and Bolland. ad v. Maii.

³ Tillemont, xv. 71.

Bishopric. Hilary and German then ordered the proofs to be produced. Many great Bishops assembled to be present at the discussion, among whom was St. Eucher of Lyons. It is believed that this Council was held at Besançon, at which, also, Hilary presided, not Eucher of Lyons, as being a junior Bishop. There the question was maturely weighed, and it was proved that Chelidonius had in fact married a widow ; consequently, he was called on to resign his episcopal office, and another was elected in his place. The decree of the Council was supported by the Patrician Aetius and the Prefect Marcellus. This sentence led to serious results. Chelidonius went to Rome and laid his cause at the feet of St. Leo, the Pope, who, notwithstanding Hilary's explanations, espoused the cause of the former, and re-established him in his See. Hilary, who had also gone to Rome, became the object of Leo's resentment, which, to all appearances, was anything but just, and did not even end with the death of the holy Bishop of Arles. It is supposed by Stillingfleet that German also was involved in the disgrace which Hilary then suffered with respect to the See of Rome. This, indeed, may be partly granted ; yet there is no reason to suppose him to have forfeited the estimation of Pope Leo in 444, except so far as related to this deposition of Chelidonius. But it would be absurd to infer with him, that this circumstance, which occurred in 444, must have made German obnoxious to Pope Celestine fifteen years before. At *that* time, Hilary was quite a young man, and just elected to Arles, and an intimacy with him was not in such abhorrence at Rome, as to injure German's character. On the other hand, there is no sufficient reason to suppose German, in his second voyage to Britain, which took place in 446, to have

acted against Leo's wishes ; it would be lending unjust motives to one who had the virtues of a Saint, and who must have been acquainted with the services which German had rendered to the Britons, services which few, perhaps none other, could confer.

The other circumstance not mentioned by Constantius, but by Hericus, the monk of Auxerre, (who, though a writer of the ninth century, may, as far as the general fact is concerned, be considered a sufficient authority,) relates to the meeting of German and St. Anian, the famous Bishop of Orleans. This was the St. Anian who not long after, by his prayers, saved the town of Orleans from the fury of Attila, who was besieging it, and to whom the sceptic Gibbon has not disdained to pay the tribute of admiration. Had Hericus not mentioned his interview with St. German, we might infer it from the mere probabilities. Their Sees were near, they were within the same civil jurisdiction, they were contemporaries, they were the same in life, doctrine, holiness. The traditions which record it are such as the following. There was a Church dedicated to St. German, in the time of Hericus, in one of the suburbs of Orleans. Here it was said St. Anian had met St. German. A peal of bells, which had suddenly been rung without any human assistance, had announced to him the arrival of his brother of Auxerre. He had collected a great number of his Clergy, and coming out to receive him, had advanced to this spot. When the time came for German to return, St. Anian accompanied him out of Orleans. They were met by a bier, on which was laid the corpse of an only son ; the mother was walking beside it. The two Saints demurred for a short time which should have the honour of restoring the child of this second widow of

Nain. St. German consented at last ; and brought again the dead son to life. The subject of this great miracle lived to an old age, says the repeater of the tradition ; and there is no doubt that a Church was dedicated to St. German, at the place where it occurred.

CHAPTER XX.

His Second Visit to Britain.

GERMAN was now advanced in age ; he had governed the diocese of Auxerre for twenty-nine years, and had obtained the highest reputation over all Gaul for his miracles, holiness, and learning. His advice was sought by the whole Church on important matters, and distinguished men came to hear him discourse, and profit by his instructions. In the year 447, the intelligence was again brought to Gaul from Britain, of a revival of the Pelagian heresy in the latter country. There were few, it was said, who disturbed the peace of the nation, but the danger was every day increasing. German was again called to restore the doctrine which he before so signally had defended. As on the occasion of his previous mission he was requested by all to undertake the office of Apostle, so he was on this ; yet we are not able to determine whether any Council was assembled, or any peculiar authority, over and above the original commission which he had received, was required.¹ There is reason, however, to conjecture

¹ Const. had said, “*Preeces omnium ad virum beatissimum deferuntur.*” Bede adds to omnium the word *sacerdotum*.

that a Synod was held at Trèves,¹ and that in consequence, Severus, the Bishop of that town, whose exertions in the north of Gaul for the promotion of religion had made him renowned, was elected to accompany German on his second voyage. Severus was the disciple, says Bede, of St. Lupus.²

During the interval which had elapsed from German's first journey to Britain to his second, the condition of this island had been anything but peaceful. Vortigern, to whom the reader has already been introduced, had by this time been elected king of the Britons. This event some assign to the year 438 ; but very little chronological certainty can here be expected. The character of Vortigern has come down to posterity with all the colours applied to unpopular tyrants. That his reign was compassed with more than ordinary difficulties cannot be denied. "When he was king," says Nennius,³ "he was kept in suspense by continual apprehensions of danger from the Picts and Scots, from the remnant of the Romans ready to attack, and the exploits of Ambrosius ;" while the Saxons who surrounded the country with their piratical skiffs were ever waiting to profit by his vacillations and imprudences. Still the most charitable interpretation cannot rescue him from very serious charges, namely, of gross immorality and irreligion. It is probably to this time that the pathetic declamations of the historian Gildas about the sins of the nation are to be ascribed.⁴ The temporary return to religion and good manners

¹ Not in 449, according to Mansi Concilia, for German was then dead, and the Saxons had invaded Britain.

² Bed. lib. i. ch. 21. ³ p. 24.

⁴ Collier, p. 108.

occasioned by the distress which the invaders had produced, and by the visit of German and Lupus, had been followed by a different course of life so soon as the barbarians were defeated.¹ The orthodoxy of the nation indeed remained comparatively pure, but peace brought plenty, and plenty produced luxury and libertinism.² The principles of the people degenerated daily, and defied the coercion of all Ecclesiastical discipline. "When the aggressions of the enemy had ceased," says Bede after Gildas, "there was an abundance of provisions in the island such as had never been known ; but with them flowed in scandalous luxury ; and every vice soon followed in the train, especially cruelty and hatred of truth with love of falsehood ; insomuch, that if any one appeared somewhat more humane or sincere than the rest, the odium and sarcasms of all were directed against him, as if he were the subverter of Britain. And this was the condition not of the laity alone, but even of the flock of the Lord and of his Pastors. They cast away the light yoke of the Lord and gave themselves up to drunkenness, animosities, litigiousness, contention, envy and the like. However, while they were in this state a pestilence broke out, which carried off such numbers, that the living were not able to bury their dead. Still, neither the death of their kinsmen, nor the fear of their own, could recall those who survived from the death of sin. Therefore soon after, a more severe punishment fell

¹ Bede, ch. xiv. He does not connect the cessation of hostilities with the coming of German, but dates seem to imply as much, and it is hard to conceive the invaders settling down except after defeat. Compare also the extract from Giraldus Cambrensis below.

² Alford.

upon the wretched nation. To repel and keep off the continued irruption of the northern nations, a public council was held, and it was debated where assistance should be sought. All decreed together with their king Vortigern that the Saxons should be called over from the opposite' shores to assist them. A measure which the Lord undoubtedly brought about to punish the sins of the Britons, as the event showed."

This invitation addressed to the Saxons is assigned to the year 449 by Bede. Not long before, in 447, while the nation was in the state just described, German came over with Severus of Treves. He had lost no time in setting off from Auxerre. His way again lay in the direction of Nanterre and Paris, as on his first journey. Here he was received by the congratulations of all. His blessing was demanded on every side. And while he was complying with the wishes of the inhabitants, he enquired earnestly after the virgin Genevieve. Genevieve was by this time grown up, for eighteen years had elapsed since German had passed through before. He was not altogether ignorant of what she had undergone since his departure.¹ The fact was that she had from the first led a life of exemplary holiness and mortification. At the age of fifteen, when confirmed in her vocation, she received the virgin's veil from the hands of Velicus, Bishop of Chartres.² At the death of her parents she removed from Nanterre to Paris, where she lived with her god-mother. Notwithstanding the sanctity of her life, she

¹ Biogr. Un.

² It is evident from this incidental passage that some time had elapsed between German's two voyages, contrary to the anachronism of some who assign them to years near each other.

could not escape calumny and persecution ; and her pious practices were looked upon as hypocritical arts. However German, regardless of the imputations which were cast upon her by her enemies, betook himself to the abode of the virgin Genevieve, and to the great surprise of all saluted her on entering in the most respectful manner, “as if he looked upon her as the temple in which the Divine presence was manifested.”¹ The visit of so great a personage as German was alone a high commendation of her character ; but not content with this, he addressed a discourse to the assembled multitude, in which he declared the early events of her religious life,² and her high price in the sight of God ; and as a proof of her sincerity, showed to the people the ground on which she used to lie, moistened by her continual tears. For the present the outcries of her enemies were totally suppressed ; and German was able to proceed on his road. As it is not to the purpose of this narrative to describe the whole history of this great Saint, the reader is referred to those who have collected what is known of her.³ It is sufficient here to say that her deeds were committed to writing eighteen years after her death, in 530. Her feast is on the 3rd of January.

German and Severus met with no obstacle this time in their passage across the channel. Swift as their progress was, yet the evil spirits managed to spread the fame of their arrival throughout the island, before, says

¹ Constantius.

² This also shows that time sufficient had elapsed for his first journey to have been forgotten in its details.

³ Vid. Boll. ad iii. Jan. Vita cum commentariis, p. 137.—In modern languages, see her Life in Butler and Baillet, *Vie des Saints*, and Biogr. Uni.

Constantius, they were in sight. Among the first who came to meet German was Elaphius, one of the chief men of the country. He brought with him his son, who from childhood had been a cripple. The whole province, of which he apparently was sovereign, followed Elaphius. When the two Bishops had landed, the multitude thronged to get their blessing. German then learnt that the people had not yet departed from the faith in which he had previously established them ; and that the Pelagian leaven had infected a few only.

In the meantime, Elaphius threw himself down before German and Severus, and entreated them to have compassion upon his afflicted son. All united in expressing their commiseration for him. Then German having desired the young man to sit down, laid hold of his crooked legs, and passed his hand gently over the distorted parts. His touch produced an instantaneous cure ; the circulation returned to the withered joints, and the nerves resumed their strength. In the presence of all, the young man was restored to his father in perfect soundness. The people filled with amazement at the miracle, were confirmed in the Faith by which so great a deed had been performed. In some sense they resembled the Samaritans, who said unto the woman that conversed with our Lord at Jacob's well, " Now do we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ the Saviour of the world."¹

The two Bishops then proceeded to take measures for the total extirpation of the Pelagian heresy. They preached everywhere with such efficacy, that the nation unanimously agreed to have the propagators of the

¹ St. John iv. 42.

error arrested and brought to the Bishops, to be carried away from the island into foreign parts. Some have thought they were sent to Rome, others that they were taken only to Gaul.¹ Constantius seems to affirm, that while care was taken to deliver Britain from their presence, hopes were entertained that they might elsewhere be brought round to orthodoxy.² The event fully showed the expediency of a measure, which might be looked upon now as an act of persecution ; for henceforth the Catholic faith remained entire in Britain up to the time when Constantius wrote, that is, about forty years after the journey of German.

With this last assertion Constantius concludes his narrative of German's second visit to Britain ; and as it is an important one, before the accounts of other authors are produced, it may be as well to notice some few observations to which it leads. A decided proof seems here to be given that the invasion of the Saxons and Angles did not extinguish the Christian religion in Britain to the degree which is generally supposed, and has been maintained by some writers. Constantius speaks of what existed in his own time, after the Saxons had been for nearly forty years settled in Britain. It would appear then, that whatever error there may be in that theory which rests the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England upon its original state under the Britons, in contradistinction to the arrangements introduced by St. Austin, yet there is a great appearance of truth in the reason which

¹ Hist. Ep. Antiss. c. vii. apud Boll. Tillemont tom. xv. p. 19.

² " Ut regio absolutione et *illi* emendatione fruerentur." Perhaps, however, the *illi* refers to the natives, as Constantius is not afraid of tautology.

is adduced to support it, viz. that the Christian religion was not utterly destroyed in Britain by the arrival of the Saxons. The analogy of other countries alone would lead to the belief that the Saxons, like other barbarians, would rather adopt the faith of the vanquished than impose their own ; and the language of Constantius is too strong to suppose the faith shut up in one corner of the island, Wales, according to the common notion. He says expressly, "*that in those parts* (from which the country where German landed could hardly be excluded, namely, the shores of Kent,) *the Faith continues untainted* (which could not be the case if a Pagan religion was there substituted for the Christian) *up to our times*."¹ Now if we consider that St. Austin came into England, according to Bede, in 596, and that Constantius wrote his Life of St. German about 483, it seems hardly possible that the Faith which remained entire in 483, should have been totally extinguished in 596, i. e. 113 years after ; especially as the violence of the Saxons is represented to have been displayed chiefly towards the beginning of their invasion, at least thirty years before Constantius wrote.² And this view is supported by the learned Whitaker. "The native roughness of their manners," he says on the subject of the Saxons, "would insensibly be smoothed, and the natural attachment of their minds to idolatry

¹ Quod in tantum salubriter factum est, ut in illis locis etiam nunc fides intemerata perduret.

² It is hoped that no difference of opinion to that expressed in St. Augustine's Life, is here put forth. In fact the materials of this work were prepared long before that Life came out, and hitherto nothing more than the headings of the chapters and an occasional paragraph have been seen by the writer of St. German's Life. Collier, p. 124, tom. i. Ed. 8vo.

imperceptibly softened, by their perpetual intercourse with the Britons, to whom they allowed the free exercise of their religion. And the British Churches in general appear to have remained undestroyed by the Saxons, and some of them even applied to their original uses. In the stipendiary town of Canterbury, no less than two continued to the Saxon conversion, and one of these seems to have been regularly used through all the period of idolatry as the temple of the provincials at Canterbury, &c. Indulged with this reasonable liberty, and opposed by no passionate prejudice, the Britons would successfully propagate the doctrines of Christianity, &c. A deep impression would silently have been made on the Saxons, gradually detach them from their idolatry, and greatly prepare them for Christianity. And we find them accordingly, some time before the arrival of Augustine, *and when no attempts had been made to convert them by the Britons of Wales*, actually prepared for conversion, and very desirous of the Gospel, &c.”¹

This subject, which more properly belongs to the life of St. Augustine, it seemed necessary cursorily here to introduce, in order to estimate properly the advantages which St. German procured to our Church, and which in all probability were not destroyed when St. Austin came to revive religion in England.²

¹ Hist. Manch. p. 360, 361, 362. He refers to Greg. Ep. 58, in Bede 678, “Desideranter velle converti,” and Lib. i. c. 22. See also Ep. 59.

² The same view is substantially taken by Alford, ad an. 440, who observes, that St. Austin was sent as the converter of the Saxons and Angles only, and not in any wise to the Britons. St. German was the Apostle of the Britons, St. Austin of the Saxons, but neither were the original founders of Christianity in this island. Of course Cressy follows Alford.

A general idea of the customs and teaching of German and his companions, is supposed by our own Selden to be shown in the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis,¹ who lived in the twelfth century, and whose words are as follows :² “Formerly and long before the ruin of Britain, during nearly two hundred years, the natives had been established and confirmed in the faith through the instrumentality of Faganus and Damianus, who were sent into the island by Pope Eleutherius, at the request of King Lucius. From which time, including that when German of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes (on account of the corruptions which had crept in from the invasions of the Pagans and Saxons, and especially in order to expel the Pelagian heresy,) were sent into the island, the natives had nothing heretical, nothing contrary to sound doctrine, in their belief. From these same Saints and Bishops they also received and kept up to our time the following practices, as we are told.³ Whenever any bread is served up, they (that is, the Welsh) first give a corner of it to the poor. They sit in companies of three at dinner in honour of the Trinity. Whenever a Monk or a Priest, or any one bearing a religious habit appears, they cast down their arms, bend their head, and demand a blessing. No other nation seeks so earnestly for Episcopal confirmation and the unction of the

¹ Vid. p. 59. *Analeeton Anglo-Britanicon* Joan. Selden. Frankfort, 1615.—*Giraldus Cambrensis*, apud Camden. *Anglo. Scripta*. p. 891. Ed. 1603. Frankfort.—Alford ad an. 440.

² Vid. *Biog. Uni.* His original name was Barry, and his surname shows he was Welsh. He was of high birth, and travelled a great deal. But his works are spoilt; it is said, by great vanity and affectation, and not always to be depended upon.

³ *Ut fertur.*

Chrism, both which impart the Grace of the Spirit. They give tithes of all their possessions, cattle and sheep, when they marry, when they undertake a journey, or submit to the discipline of the Church in the reformation of their lives. This partition of their property they call the Great Tithes. Two parts they give to the Church where they are baptized, the third to the Bishop of their diocese. In preference to all other journeys, they undertake that to Rome, with pious minds and reverence for the threshold of the Apostles. They show due veneration for Churches and Ecclesiastical persons, and the relics of Saints, and portable bells,¹ the ornamented Volume of the Gospels,² and the Cross ; in this indeed they surpass all other nations. Hence their Church enjoys more secure peace than any other. For not only in cemeteries, but even elsewhere by means of land-marks and ditches, placed by the Bishops to preserve order, their cattle are able to feed without disturbance. In the most ancient and venerable Churches, when the cattle go out in the morning, and when they return at evening, the Clergy give them their benediction. If any one has incurred the

¹ *Campanis Bajulis.* “*Campanæ Bajulæ quæ præ manibus haberi et deferri possunt.*” *Silvester Giraldus in Topogr. Hibern. c. 33.*—“*Hoc etiam non prætereundum puto, quod Campanas bajulas, baculosque Sanctorum in superiore parte recurvos, auro et argento vel ære contextos, in magna reverentia tam Hiberniæ et Scotiæ quàm Gwalliæ populus et Clerus habere solent: ita ut sacramenta super hæc longe magis quam super Evangelia et præstare vereantur et pejerare.*”—*Apud Ducange. Campana.*

² *Libris textis.* “*Textus; Liber seu Codex Evangeliorum, qui inter cimelia Ecclesiastica reponi solet, auro gemmisque ut plurimum exornatus, aureis etiam interdum characteribus exaratus.*”—*Ducange.*

deadly enmity of his sovereign, and seeks for refuge in the Church, he will there find peace for himself and his kinsfolk. In this privilege indeed, which far exceeds the indulgence of the canons, which only offer safety to the body and members, many go great lengths and make their refuge the occasion of plunder. Nowhere else you will see Hermits and Anchorites more ascetic, more spiritual. Though all the people (the Welsh) have a natural vehemence of disposition, and you will find none worse than bad men among them, yet you will not find better men than their good men."

CHAPTER XXI.

More English Traditions.

THUS much can be depended upon, with regard to this second visit of German to Britain, as coming from the authority of Constantius, who has all along been taken as a sure witness. But it has been hinted already that our Saint's renown in England by no means depends upon the narrative of this writer alone, (one might almost say, *at all*.) Nothing was more popular among our ancient countrymen than the Legends of St. German. Did an Englishman in the ninth century go abroad, he was sure to be questioned about St. German, and he had many things to relate, which Constantius had passed over, but which were in the mouth of every body in England. "This country," says Hericus of

Auxerre, "which is the first among islands, has a peculiar devotion towards the blessed German, and its inhabitants acknowledge themselves to owe many great blessings to him : they were enlightened, say they, by his teaching, they were purified from heresy twice by him, they were honoured by many miracles which he performed among them." Accordingly, when a pious monk of the name of Mark came over from England, and took up his abode in the monastery of St. Medard and St. Sebastian, at Soissons, in France, he had many things to tell the foreign enquirer which were not generally known abroad. And these, he asserted positively, were contained in the Catholic Histories of Britain, and might be read by any one therein."¹

About the very time when St. Mark (for he was a Saint) was instructing Hericus, Nennius was writing his history of Britain in England, that is, in 858, according to the Prologue. Nennius then is, after Bede, the earliest English testimony which we possess concerning St. German. But as critics are, with reason, afraid of admitting the facts he relates without great caution, the reader will be pleased to consider this chapter as the continuation of a former one, entitled English Traditions.

It appears that the arrival of the Saxons, Vortigern's crimes and misfortunes, St. German's presence, and Merlin's prophecies, are facts all brought together by this author. Among the earlier events of Vortigern's reign occurred, he says, the arrival of Horsa and Hengist ; the account reads like romance. "In the meantime, three skiffs,² banished from Germany, touched the land. In these were Horsa and Hen-

¹ Heric. de Mirac. 80.

² Ciulæ.

gist, who were brothers, the sons of Guictgils, the son of Guitta, the son of Guectha—Vuoden—Frealaf—Fredulf—Finn—Folewald—Geta, who was, as they say, the son of God. This is not the God of gods, Amen, the God of Hosts, but one of their idols whom they worshipped... Vortigern received them kindly, and gave them the island which in the Saxon language is called Thanet, but in the British tongue Ruohim."

Then came St. German to Britain, where he preached, and performed many miracles, among which Nennius selects the following legend, the character of which must stand by its own merits, and not be supposed to affect in any way the more genuine miracles of German before related. "There was a certain wicked king, a perfect tyrant, of the name of Benli. Him the Saint proposed to visit, and therefore hastened to go and preach to him. When the man of God had come to the gate of the town with his companions, the guard approached and saluted them, whereupon they sent him to the king. The king returned a harsh answer, saying, with an oath, "Should they remain there till the end of the year, they never shall enter my town." While they were waiting for the guard to bring back the answer of the king, evening came on, and night advanced, and they knew not where they should go, when one of the king's servants arrived, and having bowed himself before the man of God, related to him the words of the king. He then invited them to his cottage, (which probably was out of the town); they went with him, and he entertained them kindly. Their host had only one cow, with her calf. This latter he killed, and having roasted it, placed it before them. Then St. German enjoined them not to break any of the bones, and the next day the calf was found with its mother,

whole and alive. When German had risen in the morning, he asked for an interview with the king. While he was waiting at the gate, a man came running up to him with the sweat running down from his face. He bowed himself. St. German said to him, 'Dost thou believe in the Holy Trinity?' He answered, 'I believe,' and was baptized; and German kissed him, and said to him, 'Go in peace, in this same hour thou shalt die; the angels of God await thee in the air, that thou mayest go with them to the Lord, in whom thou hast believed.' Then the man returned with joy to the citadel, where the Prefect arrested him, and bound him; after which, he was led before the tyrant and put to death; for it was a custom with the cruel tyrant to have every one killed who, before sunrise, did not return to his service in the citadel. In the meantime, German and his companions remained the whole day before the gate of the city, without obtaining leave to see the king. The servant who before had entertained them, did not neglect them. St. German said to him, 'Take care that none of your friends remain in the citadel this night.' The servant then returned to the citadel, and brought away his children to the number of nine, and his guests followed him to the same abode as before. St. German bid them remain fasting, and having shut the doors, said, 'Watch, and if any thing should occur, be careful not to look to the citadel, but pray unceasingly, and cry to the Lord.' After a short interval, in the night, fire fell from heaven, and consumed the citadel, with all that were with the tyrant, and they have never been found, continues Nennius, to this time, nor has the fort ever been rebuilt. The day after, the man who had so hospitably received them, believed and was baptized, with all his children;

and the whole country followed his example. His name was Catel. And German blessed him and said, 'There shall not be wanting a king of thy seed ; and thou thyself from this day shalt be sole king.' The saying proved true. The servant was made the king, and all his children became kings, and by their posterity the whole country of the Pouisi is even now governed."

However Vortigern was becoming daily more intimate with his Saxon guests. "Then," says Nennius, "Satan entered into his heart, and he fell in love with the daughter of Hengist, and he promised half of his kingdom to have her in marriage." Thus was the county of Kent given away. Soon after, a fresh body of strangers arrived from the German coasts, at Vortigern's invitation. These were Octha and Ebissa, with forty skiffs, who, at the request of the king, sailed towards the Picts, and laid waste the Orkney Islands, and settled in the country which lies on the confines of the Picts. Vortigern was hastening the ruin of his country by his follies and his vices. As a crowning of his wickedness, he married his own daughter, and had a son by her. Upon hearing which, St. German came, with all the British Clergy, to reprove him. A large Synod was convened, at which the Clergy and laity attended. The king then ordered his daughter to present herself to the assembly, and deliver the child to German, declaring that German himself was the father of it. She acted as she was instructed. German, however, received the child with benevolence, and said, 'Yes, I will be a father to thee, nor will I part with thee, unless a razor with tongs and comb be given me, and thou transfer them to thy father according to the flesh.' The child obeyed, and advanced towards Vortigern, his father and grandfather at the same time, and

he said to him, 'Thou art my father ; shave my head—the hair of my head.' Vortigern remained silent, and would not answer the child, but rose up in a great rage, and fled from the presence of St. German. He was then condemned, and anathematized by St. German and all the Council of the Britons. This Council, we learn, was held at Guarthernia (probably in Wales.) When Vortemir, the son of Vortigern, saw that his father had been condemned for incest by German, and by the British Clergy, and had taken flight, he came and threw himself at the feet of the Saint, and asked his pardon. Then, on account of the calumny which his father and sister had spread against German, he decreed that ever after the land on which the Bishop had suffered the ignominy should be his property. Hence, in memory of St. German, it received the name of Guartheunia, (or Guarthernia) which, by interpretation, is "The calumny justly repulsed."¹

It would be too long to follow Vortigern into his retirement at Snowden, where he built a castle, to consolidate which, he was advised by wizards (the constant companions of abandoned sovereigns) to sprinkle the blood of a child which had no father. Suffice it to say, the famous prophet, the very Merlin was found, who was also called Ambrosius, and was the son of a Roman Consul. In the meantime, Vortemir undertook the cause of the Britons, which his father had betrayed to the Saxons, and was victorious in four battles, in the last of which he died. After his death, Vortigern was taken captive treacherously by the Saxons, and obliged to deliver up to them Essex and Sussex for his ransom. "However,"

¹ See Nennius, p. 30, p. 35, and Usher, p. 385.

continues Nennius, "St. German did not desist from preaching to Vortigern to turn to the Lord. But the king fled to the region which owes its name to him, Guorthirniaun, where he concealed himself with his wives. But St. German followed with all the British clergy; and there he remained forty days and forty nights, praying upon the rock, and standing night and day. Then Vortigern again ignominiously retired to the fort of Guorthigirn, which is in the country of the Demeti, (including Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire) near the river Teibi (now called Teify.) Still St. German followed him, and when he arrived he remained three days and as many nights fasting with the whole clergy that accompanied him. On the fourth night, about midnight, the entire fortress, struck by fire from heaven, fell to the ground; and Vortigern with all who were with him, and his wives, disappeared." Such was the end of this ill-fated monarch, the account of which Nennius professes to have found in the Book of St. German, though there were, he adds, other reports. The names of Vortigern's legitimate sons have already been given, Vortimer, Categirn, Parcent. It is somewhat remarkable that the offspring of his incestuous marriage became a Saint, under the name of Saint Faustus. After the miraculous obedience which he had displayed in the way above related, he was baptized and educated by St. German; and having built a monastery on the banks of the river Renis, he there devoted himself to the service of God.

Such are the deeds and transactions which in early times were connected with the name of German in this Island. In fact, they constituted the popular legend of that Saint, and went much farther towards

rendering him familiar to the English, than the more authentic narratives of Constantius and Bede. Nor is Nennius the only one who loved to explore the rich mine of the Legend of St. German ; Henry of Huntingdon, John Gerbrand of Leyden, Galfridus, Matthæus Florilegus, and many others, transmitted in their turn the well known story which was identified with many a national and local sympathy. Here was to be found the origin of the names of towns, and churches ; the clue to famous councils and victories. At the same time the great political revolution which German, if he did not witness, yet saw impending upon the nation, and the never forgotten British associations with which his name was allied, and which were stored up in the mountains of Wales, gave a popularity to his name, which it is somewhat surprising should so completely have died away.

CHAPTER XXII.

St. German and the Barbarians.

SCARCELY had German returned from his last expedition to Britain in the year 447, when he found a new field open for his exertions. The occasion was a deputation sent by the Armorican confederacy to entreat his assistance against their two united enemies, the Roman generals and their allies the Barbarian Alani. That a holy Bishop should be applied to, may surprize us at first, but will cease to do so when the nature of the case is explained. However, in order to understand how Barbarians came to be the allies of Romans against a Christian and orthodox

people, it will be necessary to go back a few years, to their first introduction into Gaul. First, let it be observed, the Alani, against whom the Armoricans chiefly demanded succour, were a race of Huns, stationed on the banks of the Loire, near Orleans, to repress the rebels, and who acted under the conduct of their king, Eochar.

The position of the different Barbarians in Gaul at this time was as follows. The Franks, the "heathen and perfidious Franks,"¹ occupied a part of the northern provinces of the two Belgicæ and the second Germanica, a district which now might be said to extend from the banks of the river Somme, in Picardy, towards those of the Moselle. The Visigoths possessed the greater part of the western and south-western provinces, south of the river Loire, called at that time Narbonnensis Prima, Novempopulania and the Second Aquitania. The Burgundians were settled in the east of Gaul, in the provinces of Germanica Prima and Maxima Sequanorum, answering to the modern Alsace, Franche-comté and Switzerland. These were the three great divisions of Barbarians. With regard to the two latter, it is to be remarked that they were Christians, though Arians. "In every nation," says Salvian, "there were two kinds of Barbarians, the Pagans and the Heretics."² Of the former class were another large tribe of men, who besides these, had entered into Gaul, though they had as yet no settled abode, and with whom the History of St. German is more immediately connected. These were the Alani mentioned already, a section of the Huns; both which races, parent and offspring, deserved the epithets of "rapacious,

¹ Salvian, p. 89. Dubos, tom. i. p. 438. Thierry *Lettres sur la France*.
² p. 86.

drunken, impure.”¹ The great leader of the Huns, Attila, entered Gaul a few years later ; the detachment of them here in question, was introduced somewhat earlier and in a very different way.

Among the political intrigues which disturbed the imperial court at Ravenna, many will remember the famous quarrel of Aetius, the great Roman general, and Count Boniface, his worthy rival, who commanded in Africa. How this quarrel was connected with the entry of the Alani into Gaul is now to be shown. The crisis of their feud took place in a meeting of the two rivals in the plains of Italy on the field of battle. Boniface was victorious, but he died of his wounds.² Aetius, deprived by the Empress Placidia and her son Valentinian of his dignity and titles, retired into the land of the Huns, who were then governed by Rugila, the father of Attila. Here he received the most cordial welcome. An alliance ensued between the savage chieftain and the Roman exile which subsisted for a long time.³ In the year 435, after two years’ banishment, the indispensable Aetius was again restored to the favour of the court. The highest honour of the age was bestowed upon him ; he was made Patrician. At this juncture he sent to his associates, the Huns, to obtain troops to defend Gaul against its many assailants. A large body of these who went by the name of Alani, were accordingly enlisted in the Roman armies ; and shortly after Aetius stationed a great number on the banks of the Loire. Their very entry into Gaul was prophetic of their future behaviour. They made a violent attack upon

¹ Salvian, p. 89.

² Prosp. Chron. 432. Dubos, p. 353, tom. i. Gibbon, tom. iv.

³ Dubos, p. 362.

the Burgundians, the mildest and most equitable of the Barbarian settlers, and killed twenty thousand of them, according to Gibbon. Certain it is that a great part of the Burgundians are represented to have perished in the massacre, to which Aetius, the Patrician, was not altogether a stranger. This act was the more savage, as a treaty had lately been made with the Burgundians.¹

The next enemy against whom the Alani were employed were the Visigoths. Here the reason was more just. The Visigoths were daily taking advantage of the disturbed state of the empire. "They were ever violating treaties," says St. Prosper, "and continued to obtain possession of the greater number of the large towns which were situated near their kingdom. Narbonne they were now aiming at eagerly."² But Narbonne was rescued by the reinforced troops of Aetius; and the Visigoths were repeatedly conquered.³ The new allies of the Romans by this time rendered the imperial army a match for the Goths. The Gothic nations were skilful in the management of the sword and the spear, but they were deficient in horse. The Scythian tribes on the contrary, and among them the Alani, possessed a superior cavalry, and they were equally expert in governing their warlike steeds, and using the bow and arrow and other missiles. After these victories, Aetius stationed a great part of his allies at or near Orleans, under the conduct of their king Sambida, for reasons which will soon be explained, and in consequence of which the Armorican confederacy were afterwards obliged to apply to St. German. Then Aetius departed to Rome.

¹ Prosper, Chron. ad an. 435. Montesquieu *Esprit des Lois*, tom. ii.

² Prosp. ad an. 436.

³ Prosp. ad an. 438.

In his absence, Littorius Celsus, the commanding officer of the Romans, urged by the opportunity of distinguishing himself, notwithstanding a treaty which had been made with the Visigoths, made war upon them. Let us hear Prosper.¹ "Littorius, who acted as lieutenant of the Patrician Aetius in the command of the auxiliary troops of the Huns or Alani, desirous of eclipsing the reputation of his superior, and trusting in the oracles of Augurs and the promises of Devils, imprudently engaged with the Visigoths. The event showed that any thing might have been expected from his army ; but a general was wanting. His troops were beaten, but not till they had broken the ranks of the enemy, and Littorius was taken prisoner ; and so the defeat was decisive." This action took place near Toulouse. Theodoric was king of the Visigoths. Littorius was put to death.² After this fatal engagement, peace was again made with the Visigoths, through the instrumentality of Avitus, the future emperor, the father-in-law of the poet and scholar Sidonius Apollinaris, and a native of Auvergne.³

It was a difficult thing to find safe occupation for the restless Alani. Do something they must. At a loss for an occasion, they might turn and attack their own employers ; but there was as yet no need for that. It has already been stated in a previous chapter, and supposed in this, that in the north-western parts of Gaul, a large League or Confederacy existed, under the name of the Armorican Republic, to the standards of which all the rebels of the Empire, who did not join the Barbarians, flocked. The Armoricans were a

¹ Prosp. ad an. 439.

² Dubos, tom. i. p. 374, &c.

³ Sidon. in Paneg. Aviti. vers. 297.

Christian and orthodox people, who inhabited the second and third Lugdunensis : that is, the whole of the country north of the Loire, as far as Orleans and the Seine.¹ With the rest of the ancient inhabitants of Gaul, they came into the dominion of the Romans in Julius Cæsar's time. They have always been noted for that independence and energy of character which afterwards were so often displayed in the annals of France, and not long since evinced in the neighbouring plains of La Vendée. Armorica did not obtain the name of Brittany till after the conquest of Great Britain by the Saxons, when great numbers of Britons, as is well known, took refuge there. The Armorican confederacy however embraced what is now called Normandy, a name likewise of later use.² In the early part of the fifth century the Armoricans were particularly known for their spirit of insubordination. Constantius speaks "of the insolence of that proud people," and "their presumption which required a severe lesson;" and again animadverts "on the changeableness and fickleness which prompted a restless and undisciplined people to frequent rebellions."³ And in the ninth century, Hericus of Auxerre, whose masters Charlemagne, Louis-le-Débonnaire, and Charles-le-Chauve, had to deal with this people, describes them as "stern, haughty, boastful, forward, imprudent, rebellious, fickle, ever changing from love of novelty, profuse in words, less ready to make them good; esteeming it an honour

¹ "Gens inter geminos notissima clauditur amnes,
Armoricana prius veteri cognomine dicta."

Hericus, vit. Met. lib. v. ch. 1. See also Tillem. xv. p. 20, Dubos, p. 439 and p. 69.

² Dubos, p. 439.

³ Lib. ii. § 62. Lib. ii. § 73.

to promise much and perform little." Allowing for considerable colouring on the part of advocates for the opposite cause, yet it is not surprising if they were such as they are described. In fact, the Armoricans were nothing less than rebels ; their republic was not of such long standing that Constantius could regard them otherwise than as disobedient Roman subjects. They were, if not the whole, yet the greater part of that vast coalition of insurgents who went by the name of Bagaudæ. It may seem singular to attempt to differ with a contemporary writer of such great claims to respect as Constantius, but he himself, who bears witness to the fact, undoubtedly would have acknowledged the justness of the reasons which palliate the offence of these Insurgents. The very name of Bagaudæ, like that of Chartists in England, was expressive of contempt and abhorrence ; and names have a prestige about them, which it requires definition and analysis to dissipate. But let us listen to Salvian, another contemporary author.¹ "It is the injustice of the Romans which has constrained men, all over the Empire, no longer to remain Romans. I am speaking of the Bagaudæ. Spoiled, harassed, murdered by wicked and cruel judges, they have lost all the rights of Roman liberty—they relinquish the honour of the Roman name. We impute to them their misfortunes ; we cast in their teeth the name which distinguishes their misery—a name of which we are the sole cause. We call them rebels, we call them abandoned men ; but their guilt is ours. What else has made them Bagaudæ but our iniquities, the crying injustice of our magistrates, the proscriptions, the pillage exercised by

¹ De Guber. p. 108. ed. Baluz.

those who turn the public exactions into private extortion and spoil, who make the assessment of taxes the occasion for plunder ; who, like ferocious wild beasts, instead of ruling their dependants, devour them. Nor are they content with plunder alone, but they feast, so to say, upon the blood of their victims. Hence it has happened, that men mangled and half killed by iniquitous judges, have begun to assume a position like that of the Barbarians—in fact, they were not suffered to be Romans.....What do we see every day ? Those who are not Bagaudæ yet, are compelled to become so.”

The first great insurrection took place about 434.¹ Prosper says ; “The northern provinces of Gaul having been seduced by Tibato, seceded from the Roman alliance, which was the first cause of that general confederacy of the Bagaudæ to which all the servile classes in Gaul acceded.” Nothing more is known of Tibato ; the spirit of rebellion which he inflamed, spread rapidly, and concentrated itself in the country of the Armoricans. To these all the slaves and oppressed tenants, and degraded burghers, and ruined *curiales*, looked for protection, during the vast system of oppression that was choking the last feeble breathings of the Roman existence. And no more urgent motive had Aetius the Patrician, in sending for troops from the Huns and Alani, than to subdue the ever-increasing numbers of the insurgents. Accordingly, as we have seen, he stationed a large body of Alani near Orleans, as being the frontier town. In all the wars with the Visigoths, a sketch of which has been given, the Armoricans were sure to take a part, always siding with the enemies of the Romans ; and in all the treaties

¹ Dubos, tom. i. p. 355.

which were made, the Armorican interests claimed due consideration. It was somewhat strange to see the orthodox Armoricans combining with the heretical Visigoths, at a time and in a country where Arianism was such a distinct mark of separation. But it was still more strange that the Christian Romans should call in the Pagan Huns to conquer Christians and Catholics. As yet, however, Aetius and his generals had not been able to make a regular attack upon the Armoricans; his efforts had been chiefly directed towards the principality of Toulouse. But by means of Sambida and his men, posted on the banks of the Loire, he kept a vigilant eye over their movements.

In 446, a year before St. German returned from Britain, an attempt was made against them, which has been recorded by St. Gregory of Tours, in his life of St. Mesmius, a disciple of St. Martin. It appears that Aetius was himself compelled to depart, to make head against Clodion, the king of the Franks, who was advancing by slow but steady steps, in the north-east of Gaul. Egidius Afranius, the same as Count Giles, took the command of the army on the Loire, the Barbarian chief acting probably under his guidance. St. Gregory, a native of those parts which previously belonged to the Armorican Confederacy, and accordingly a favourer of the cause of his country, relates the following circumstance :¹ " St. Mesmius came to Chinon, a fortified place near to Tours, and there he founded a monastery. Afterwards, Egidius besieged the town, into which all the inhabitants of the district had fled for refuge, and caused the well, which was situated on the ridge of the hill where the besieged came to draw

¹ De Gloria Conf. c. 22.—See Dubos, p. 433.

water, to be filled up. The servant of God, who was shut up within the place, seeing with grief the companions of his fortunes dying for want of water, passed a whole night in prayer. He implored God not to suffer the people to perish from thirst, and to thwart the designs of the enemy. St. Mesmius then had a revelation. At the dawn of day, he assembled the besieged, and said unto them, "Let all who have vessels for water, place them in the open air, and ask with confidence the help of the Lord. He will give you abundance of water ; more than is necessary for yourselves and children." He scarcely had ended, when the sky became covered with dark clouds, and the rain fell amid vivid streaks of lightning and the roll of thunder. The besieged were doubly benefited. The storm which gave them water, obliged the assailants to relinquish their works. The buckets of all were filled. Thus, adds St. Gregory, did the prayers of St. Mesmius avail to raise the siege of Chinon. The rustics afterwards retired without injury to their former dwellings."

Armorica then was a land of Saints. And Saints stood up in the defence of the Republic. There is a stage in oppression and injustice where insurrection is a kind of necessary consequence, and the laws of passive obedience seem suspended by the overpowering guilt of the governing party, or rather when to violate the duty of forbearance and patience has its excuse in the human infirmity, which cannot but exist in large bodies of men. No precedent or example may be quoted to sanction any violation of duty, but in looking back upon past times, a national sin, which is incurred under peculiarly trying circumstances and imminent danger, deserves, perhaps, some charitable apology. The Church that denounces the living sinner, hopes

for the dead. To both Constantius and Salvian the insurgents were Bagaudæ; but with the latter, the excuse for them is explicit, with the former it is implied, in that St. German interceded for them, as will be seen.

The Alani or Huns were but too ready to second Egidius in his attack upon the Armoricans. In 447-448, when St. German returned from Britain, Eochar had succeeded Sambida,¹ as king of the Barbarians. The same fierce and rapacious disposition was displayed by this chieftain as by his predecessor. Valesius thinks he is the same with Vitricus or Jutricus, whom St. Prosper mentions as a Roman ally, in 439, and marks out for his exploits at battle.² However, it would not require much to induce the greedy Alani to rush upon a prey so inviting as must have been the land of the Armoricans, if we may trust to descriptions. Situated along the Loire, on the confines of the enemy, the least occasion would be seized for a plundering expedition. A historian of the time of François Premier, apparently a native of Britany, when relating the early annals of the Armoricans, takes the opportunity to give the following picture of their country.³ As its primitive simplicity and antiquated French can hardly be translated, the original will best serve to give an idea of the local advantages of this province.

¹ Or Sangibanus.

² Vid. Not. Bollan. ad locum Const. Recueil des Historiens, tom. i. p. 632, ad notas. Dubos, tom. i. p. 384.

³ Grandes Chronique de Bretagne, published at Caen, 1518, and thus headed; "The author of this book came into England in embassy with Mr. François de Luxembourg, S. Charles Marigny, m. 4 reign 9 K. U. 8. vid. Fol. 220. Bodlei. Biblio.

“Le royaume de Bretagne qui jadis fut appellé Armorique est situé es extrémités d’occident vers la fin de Europe, et est de la forme d’un fer à cheval dont la rotondité est circuee a soleil resconsant de la mere oceane ; et de gros et dangereux rochers qui sont chacun tout convers et descouverts de la mer. Lesquels rochers nuisent aux navires d’aborder à la terre. Par le haut vers orient joingt à ce royaume le bas pays de Normendie, Le Mans, Anjou, Poitou. En ce royaume ya plaines et montaignes, prèz, forestz, rivieers, et landes. Les plaines croissent bons fromens, sègles, avoynes, riz, saffran, poix, fèves, aulx, oignons et autres fruitz. Les landes et montaignes on engresse force bestail. En aucuns lieux devers occident on fait le sel par singulière industrie. Car a ce faire ny a que l’eau de la mer et la vertu du soleil, et de ce sel toutes les contrées voisines et austres sont fournies et pourvuees. A l’environ de ceste Bretagne, sont en mer plusieurs isles habitées qui sont de la dicte Bretagne où il ya estangs et forestz et y croissent blez, vis (?) et autres commodités. Les forestz de ceste Bretagne sont peuplées de venoysons et gybiers à foyson. Et ya en aucuns lieux mynières de argent, plomb, et fer. En plusieurs lieux y croissent vins en abundance pour fournir les habitans sîz sen vouloyent contenter. Par mer arrivent es portz et havres du pays toutes marchandises, &c.”—Lib. ii. p. 34.

Such was the country upon which the impatient Alani were now to be let loose. Aetius, the Magnificent, (this was the high-sounding title of the Patrician) irritated by the haughty conduct of the Armorians, resolved to humble them by those, whom it was as dangerous to employ as it was to leave inactive. He gave orders to Eochar, king of the Alani, (the

fierceness of whose disposition did not belie his birth,) to enter with his men the provinces north of the Loire.¹ The command was readily obeyed ; and the Armoricans were obliged to give way before the onset of the Barbarians. As an only resource in their distress, they sent a deputation to German, who was now returned to Gaul, to request his intercession with the enemy. It will be remembered that twenty-nine years before this event, German had himself been governor of the provinces which desired his assistance, with the title of Duke of the Armorican and Nervican district, including five provinces, the two Aquitains, the second and third Lugdunensis, and Senonia, in which Auxerre was situated.² We are not strictly told that the application of the Armoricans was founded upon any reasons arising from this circumstance ; yet we can hardly help conjecturing that some such consideration had its weight. The exceeding holiness of his life was however the ostensible reason of the embassy. Old as he was, for he was in his seventieth year, they deemed he alone could check the Pagan and savage Huns. German, confident in the all-powerful strength of Christ, says Constantius, set out without delay. The Alani had already begun their march. No time was to be lost ; their troops and cavalry loaded with iron armour, already filled the high roads. The Bishop of Auxerre advanced to meet them. Passing through their ranks, he penetrated to their king Eochar, who followed in

¹ The Bollandists are evidently right in reading *Alanorum*, not *Alemannorum*, with *Surius* ; both reason and MSS. prove it. The *Bodl. MS.* of *Constantius*, and all those quoted by *Boschius* have the same. So also in *Salvian*, p. 89, read *Alani*, not *Almanni*, and perhaps instead of *Albani*.

² *Notitia Dignit. Imperii.*

the rear. Fearless of the numbers that surrounded him, German drew near, accompanied by an interpreter. He then began to address the king in the language of a suppliant. But when he saw his petition was disregarded, he proceeded to reproofs. At last, when all was vain, stretching forth his arm, and laying hold of the reins of his horse, he stopped his progress, and that of the rest of the army. It was expected this rash act would have cost him dear. But the king was struck with astonishment and admiration. God seemed to have moved his iron heart. Reverence and awe, for which the wild and vague Scythian superstition offered no incentive, appeared, for the first time, on the fierce visage of the Barbarian, at the sight of German's courage, his authoritative demeanour, his august countenance.¹ The result was, that the preparations for war, and the vast concourse of arms, were converted into the more peaceful measures of a public conference. The king consented to forego his own desires and those of his men, and to adapt his conduct to the proposals of German. It was agreed that a truce should be observed, till the will of the emperor or his lieutenant, Aetius, were ascertained. The forces were then disbanded, and they retired to their respective stations. Thus, a second time, were the virtues of God's Saints instrumental in averting the otherwise inevitable fury of the Barbarians. Three parallel instances occurred not long after, when the whole nation of the Huns, under Attila, invaded the unfortunate

¹ "Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem, culmo tectum cerni usquam potest; sed *gladius* Barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem regionum quas circumcircuit præsulem verecundius colunt."—Ammian Marcell. quoted by Gibbon, iv. 238.

Gaul. St. Lupus saved Troyes, St. Anian saved Orleans, St. Genevieve rescued Paris. Like St. German, however, they did not confront the Barbarian. It is perhaps not unworthy of notice, that the same pens which have consigned to memory the ravages of the Barbarians, are they which have attested the miracles. The history of these times is chiefly dependent upon Christian testimony.

The learned Dubos seems to think this interview between German and Eochar took place near Chartres, one of the principal cities in the province of Senonia, called in the Latin Tables Carnotum.¹ But he is wrong when he assigns the date of it to 443, unless Constantius has totally disregarded chronological order. The Bollandists refer it to 447 or 448 with apparent reason.

We have no certain information concerning the particular conditions of the truce granted by Eochar. As a general fact, we learn that the Armoricans were to send immediately to the court of Ravenna some one entrusted with full powers to conclude an agreement with the Emperor ; that measures should be taken for a final conclusion of peace, and a suspension of arms observed by all parties, till the pardon of the Emperor was obtained.

He who had delivered the Armoricans from destruction, was now the person they fixed upon to carry their cause before the Emperor. The combined reasons which had made them select German in the first case, would also mark him out for the present negotiation. Republics, as well as other States, are governed by men of the world. They are glad if skill can be found con-

¹ Tom. i. p. 388.

connected with piety and good report, but they usually determine their choice by the political talents of their representatives, and their practical knowledge and prudence. German's long experience in the civil affairs of the Empire, his previous profession of pleader and magistrate, his acquaintance with the Armorican character and condition from having been Governor of the Provinces—these were circumstances not to be overlooked in a negotiation rendered so difficult by the intrigues of the Court. It might have been expected that the commissioner of the Armoricans would have applied for pardon to Aetius. Aetius was in effect the Emperor in Gaul, and he was very near the scene of the transaction. Yet so it was not. There were good reasons for avoiding him. Aetius was the special adversary of the Armoricans ; he had introduced the Alani originally with a direct intention against them ; he had himself given the order for the late attack ; nor would the frightful massacre of the Burgundians be soon forgotten. On the other hand, the court of Ravenna was likely to adopt measures opposite to those of Aetius. Weak governments are wont to disclaim the acts of their delegates ; and expedients are synonymous with changes and reversals. Then Aetius had never been popular in the imperial circle ; feared, while favoured, he was employed, because his genius and the straits of the times pointed him out as the only support of the empire.

But it may be as well to explain the cause of that influence which from the banks of the Meuse to the coasts of the Adriatic, could, without any express declarations, be so powerfully felt. The following portrait of this extraordinary man is given by Gibbon from a contemporary author.

“His mother was a wealthy and noble Italian, and his father, Gaudentius, who held a distinguished rank in the province of Scythia, gradually rose from the station of a military domestic to the dignity of master of the cavalry. Their son, who was enrolled almost in his infancy in the guards, was given as a hostage, first to Alaric, and afterwards to the Huns ; and he successively obtained the civil and military honours of the palace, for which he was equally qualified by superior merit. The graceful figure of Aetius was not above the middle stature ; but his manly limbs were admirably formed for strength, beauty, and agility ; and he excelled in the martial exercises of managing a horse ; drawing the bow, and darting the javelin. He could patiently endure the want of food or of sleep ; and his mind and body were alike capable of the most laborious efforts. He possessed the genuine courage that can despise not only dangers, but injuries ; and it was impossible either to corrupt or deceive, or intimidate the firm integrity of his soul.” To which original testimony Gibbon adds in a note, that this flattering portrait would have been more correct, had the author not insisted upon his patient *forgiving* disposition.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Invasion viewed by Contemporaries.

AND now before we follow St. German into the last events of his busy life, let us pause awhile, to consider what Christians at the time thought of the Invasions of the Barbarians, one tribe of whom we have just seen exterminating on their entrance into Gaul, twenty thousand peaceful Burgundian Colonists, and on the eve of laying waste a rich province of that same country. Living as we do in an age of security, we have the greatest difficulty in entering into the true feelings of men who were placed in the midst of those frightful scenes. No event in real life is like what we fancy it to be in our studies ; no plan which we have prepared at home preserves its identity when thrown into the actualities of the world. Must we then take the contradictory of our expectations for historical truth ? Must we imagine that those who at first sight should seem the most wretched of men, were in point of fact just as well off as we are ? In history there is always a danger of theorizing ; learning may be set off to advantage by an ingenious scaffolding, but its usefulness depends on the solidity of the materials.

However, it is certain from experience, that calamities have almost always their tolerable side. Whether it be that nothing comes to pass without the lapse of time, and time baffles in a thousand ways the apparently unavoidable effects of impending causes ; or that causes in themselves are ever inadequate, or are met by

other antagonist causes, so that the event is less terrible than was expected,—true it is that mankind always find an opening which makes life still dear and hopeful to them. We read of a shocking accident by a rail-road ; the preparatory circumstances come first, then the crash, and we think all must be over. But it so happens that none of our relations perish, though those next to them have been destroyed. Here is our comfort, we care but little about the victims ; the world goes on again as usual ; it is the living who influence, who lead the world ; and as long as there is one living, his judgment, his views are to be regarded.

It seems scarcely deniable that something of this kind took place in Europe during the Invasions of the Barbarians. Salvian talks of a kind of sullen stupor that had come over the world.¹ Men knew they were miserable enough, and were ready to ask why believers in God were the sufferers ;² yet the past was soon cast aside and accounted for nothing ; and luxury, vice, extravagance, ambition, public amusements and dissipation, seemed rather to have increased than diminished.³ Strange to say, the religious feelings which so unprecedented a chain of misfortunes was calculated to produce, degraded a man in themselves from his station in society. “ Religion, says the same author, makes a nobleman a boor.”⁴ And the disgraceful phenomenon which was so signally manifested at the time of the French Revolution, had its vivid precedent in the state of Gaul and other countries during the fifth century.

¹ Salvian de Gub. 145. “ Sopor Domini irruerat super eos.” Vid. Tillemont Hist. des Emp. tom. v. 548.

² See Gub. Dei, 43, 45, p.

³ Ibid 126, et 143. “ Assiduitas calamitatum, augmentum criminum fecit.”

⁴ Ibid. p. 76.

On the one hand, "language unknown in the Church, perfectly heathen and monstrous, was every where heard; profane exclamations against God, insulting blasphemies : God, they said, had no care for the world, He was no governor, no director, but an unmerciful, ungracious, inhuman, stern, inflexible being."¹ On the other hand, gladiatorial shows grew in esteem. The treasures of the world were spent in bringing from distant countries wild beasts ; it was a livelihood to ferret the deep valleys and the winding mountains of the Alps for the amusements of the theatre.² Words failed to describe the various pastimes of men. There were circus, amphitheatres, music rooms, play-houses, pageants, wrestling matches, jugglers, pantomimes, and other ill-timed spectacles without end.³ In short, laughing was the order of the day.⁴ In forcible contrast came the reproach from the mouth of the indignant witness : Christ never laughed !

But there was a remnant, a large remnant, who reflected upon the mysterious dispensations of God that were going on. Never were there more holy bishops, more saintly monks, more devout virgins and matrons, a more zealous clergy. We have high authority for saying that the fifth century produced more canonized Bishops in France than all the subsequent centuries together.⁵ Numbers of these servants of God had suffered in the distresses of the age, some death, some spoliation, some tortures, some other various acts of violence. This circumstance aggravated the general calamity, and at the same time increased the perplexity

¹ See Gub. Dis. p. 84.

² Ibid. p. 124.

³ Ibid. p. 126 et 141. Vid. also Aug. Civ. Dei. p. 43. Ben. Nova Ed.

⁴ p. 130.

⁵ Dubos Hist. Crit. p. 17.

of religious men. How was God's wisdom and justice to be vindicated amid so much innocence and misfortune? That it must and could be vindicated none doubted. The Invasion of the Barbarians, with its cruel consequences, Christian writers had little hesitation in declaring to be a divine punishment for the sins of the world. "I will visit their transgressions with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes," was the language of the Psalmist which the orthodox pleader would cite. "On account of men's excessive pride, their licentiousness and avarice, their execrable wickedness and impiety, God had visited the earth with a scourge."¹ "We have hardened ourselves, said another, as rocks; the greatest afflictions have not availed to make us feel our wickedness, and notwithstanding this inundation of Barbarians, the natives of Gaul are just as they were."²

But was the world worse than it had been two or three centuries back, under Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Commodus, Heliogabalus? Had not the empire espoused the cause of the Church, and was not Paganism fast dying away? Were there not thousands of holy monks, hermits, virgins, bishops and priests, for a sweet-smelling savour unto the Lord? Why had these very Saints endured cruelties and shame unprecedented? Would not the blasphemies of the heathens receive encouragement if the introduction of Christ's religion and the desertion of Jupiter's temples were announced by such disasters?³

To these difficulties it was answered, that come what

¹ St. Aug. Civ. Dei. ch. ix. B. I.

² Salvian, p. 141.

³ St. Aug. Civ. Dei. Lib. i. Passim. Vid. etiam Prosper, Poem. de Providentia, apud Hist. de la Gaule. Bouquet.

would, it was a standing truth, that the reward of the good is not in this world, that no temporal chastisements are to be considered as the full retribution of the reprobate. Why do men look for the recompense of a holy life here on earth? Why do they despond because the wicked have leisure to scoff? Adversity is not for bad men, but for the good. It is true, we may seek reverently to understand the reason of God's dealings with us, because His government is a moral one. Might this then not be, that there is a point at which the Divine justice can no longer endure the accumulated sins of past years, and wrath goes out from Him to spread general devastation? And in thus acting does He not hasten the reward of the good, while he sweeps away the wicked? The delays of God's vengeance are thought a serious objection; but why? If He spares Rome under Nero, He reserves the punishment of her crimes for the next world. If He pours forth His wrath upon Rome under Honorius and Arcadius, who knows but this may be part of a merciful dispensation? He punishes now that he may save hereafter. Some but for this visitation might have died in impenitency. Nay, there is a plain reason why this should be so. If every crime was straightway followed by its corresponding punishment, it might be thought that nothing was left for the last judgment. On the other hand, if no sin was punished in this world, it might be urged that there was no Divine Providence always presiding over the world. However, wisdom is justified of her children.

But there are two cardinal mistakes which men generally make when they dispute the wisdom of God's dealings; either by contemplating only individual cases, they forget the broad principles upon which all govern-

ment hangs ; or they pass over the real nature of the case, and its particulars, in endeavouring to lay down general rules and maxims of justice and prudence. This last error then was also to be noticed, in order to settle the real state of the argument. And in fact, by a close examination into the history of the times, it was observed that a peculiar and minute providence seemed to have been in many cases displayed. The better part of mankind had by no means been so free from guilt as to expect exemption from a general visitation of God. While “kings had become the nursing fathers and queens the nursing mothers” of the Church, a supineness and indifference unknown to times of persecution had crept into the Christian community. A love of worldly things was encroaching even upon the most serious and strict. With the married portion the circumstance was notorious. But retired virgins and monks were now taken up with an idle regard to opinion ; pride and self-deception were making rapid strides. And Christians were beginning to show plainly their secret tenderness for vice, and respect for men’s persons, in the unlawful leniency with which the faults of others were treated, and which they denominated charity. But to descend further still into details. When Rhadagaisus, in 406, came rushing like a torrent with his countless multitude of Goths upon the capital of the empire, he was with his whole army exterminated on the plains of Etruria, without loss on the part of the Romans. Now at this very time the Pagans in Rome were vehemently upbraiding the Christians, saying, that Rhadagaisus, the Goth, must of necessity conquer and take the city, because their gods had been exploded and the God of the Christians introduced.¹

¹ It was a popular saying among the Pagans, “*Pluvia deficit causâ Christiani.*”

Here the destruction of the irresistible Goths seemed to come like a miraculous interposition of Divine Justice. Nothing was better authenticated. The news was brought from all sides to Carthage, where St. Augustine lived. Again, when Rome was captured and pillaged by Alaric, there was this to be remarked that Alaric was a Christian, and a man of high qualities, though a Barbarian. Nor did he suffer promiscuous devastation. The natural chances of war had their play ; but he had given strict orders that the temples of God should be spared, and all who had taken refuge there should be safe from the fury of the soldiery.¹

CHAPTER XXIV.

St. German at Milan.

GERMAN was now in the last year of his life ; he was nearly seventy years old, having been born in 378. He had passed thirty years in the fulfilment of the arduous duties of a bishop, a bishop of the fifth century. He had acted in the various capacities of Apostle, spiritual overseer, mediator between nations at war, temporal magistrate, teacher of Gaul, president and counsellor at Synods, adviser of Bishops and Archbishops. At last he was invested with the office of

¹ See St. Aug. Civ. Dei. Lib. I. ch. viii., &c. and Lib. II. ch. iii. Lib. V. ch. xxiii. 22.—St. Chrys. Hom. ad Antioch. § 6. tom. ii. p. 8.—Comp. Le Maistre. Soirées de St. Petersbourg, tom. ii. p. 143-150.—Jeremy Taylor's Serm. on the Entail of Curses, and Chateaubriand's Martyrs.

Ambassador. Never since his ordination had he known peace and tranquillity. Even among so many illustrious prelates, who by their sanctity and vigorous activity preserved some remaining order in the political agitations which disturbed the world, German seemed to stand alone. "He went on," says Constantius, "from strength to strength, according to the Psalmist."

Losing no time, he set off immediately for Italy to discharge his new functions. At first his way lay in the direction which he had previously taken, when he went to Arles through Lyons. He came again to the village in the district of Alesia, where his friend the presbyter Senator lived. It will be remembered that on his former journey through this place, Senator and Nectariola had received him under their hospitable roof, and that his departure had been followed by a remarkable miracle.¹ When he arrived there the second time, Senator presented to him a girl about twenty years old, who was dumb. German then rubbed her mouth, her forehead, and her face, with some oil which he had blessed ; afterwards he took a cup, into which he had broken three small bits of bread ; placing one of the bits into her mouth with his own hands, he bade her swallow it and the others, using a form of grace beforehand. Immediately with a loud voice she pronounced the thanksgiving, swallowed the bread, and obtained the faculty of speaking which she had not possessed till then.

After this miracle, German threw himself into the arms of his friend Senator, with a burst of feeling to which he had not been known to give way ; and having embraced him affectionately, he exclaimed : " Farewell

¹ See Ch. xix. p. 183.

for ever, beloved brother, farewell. God grant that we may meet at the day of judgment without confusion of face ; for on earth we shall never again enjoy the company of each other." In fact he had been granted a foresight of his approaching end.

The attendants which he took with him were few ; probably as few as were consistent with the dignity of a nation's representative, as many as his own modesty would permit. Among these were some of his own clergy. On a former occasion we find he had travelled on horseback ; at his more advanced age, he would not have parted with this small comfort, on a journey of such length and difficulty. However, though he courted privacy, multitudes thronged to meet him. This journey was long after famous ; on all the high roads by which he passed, oratories and images of the cross were subsequently erected, indicating the places where he had stopped to pray and to preach. When Constantius wrote nearly forty years after, he could appeal to them as standing witnesses.

When he came near to Autun, a large multitude issued to receive him. It was his practice to visit the burial places of the Saints, and on this occasion he directed first his steps to the tomb of the Bishop St. Cassian, which according to custom was situated without the town. The tomb of St. Cassian was renowned for the veneration in which it was held by the people. St. Gregory of Tours, at a later period says,¹ it was every where pricked and scraped, and full of holes, from the number of sick persons who had come to be cured of their diseases. This St. Cassian, who must not be confounded with St. Cassian the Martyr, or

¹ Gloria Confess. 74, and Baillet Vie des Saints, Aug. v.

with the famous John Cassian, lived in the fourth century ; he was born at Alexandria, and for a time was Bishop of Ortha, in Egypt. Afterwards he passed into Gaul, and settled at Autun with St. Rheticius, Bishop of that place, and finally succeeded to him in that See. His death, of which no precise account has been left, but which was apparently natural, secured him a place among the Confessors of the time. German, on approaching his sepulchre, beheld on the white stone the figure of the cross, formed, as it were, by the different shades of the marble, a kind of evidence of the departed Saint's virtues. On seeing this, he offered up a prayer as he was wont, and exclaimed : " What art thou doing here, illustrious brother ?" Immediately St. Cassian from the tomb answered in the hearing of all present : " I am enjoying sweet peace without interruption, and waiting for the coming of the Redeemer." Then German replied : " Repose there long in Christ. But do thou intercede earnestly with our Lord Jesus Christ for us and for this people, that we may be esteemed meet to hear the sound of the Divine trumpet, and obtain the joys of a holy resurrection." " Such," remarks Constantius, " was the marvellous gift of German, that he could hold intercourse even with those who were concealed in the grave ; each one of the miracles he performed had its wonders ; but the rarity of examples of this kind adds to our astonishment ; two Saints of great fame who had never been in the presence of each other, were here holding converse together, the one among the living, the other among the dead ; both indeed citizens of the blessed and heavenly Jerusalem, both enjoying already heaven in part, both in part yet sojourning on earth ; he who was already in possession of his country, recognized

his fellow-soldier, still in exile, and responded to his prayers and address."¹

While German stopped at Autun, surrounded by a large number of people, a man and his wife came to him, and kneeling down, presented their daughter, who was grown up, and afflicted with a grievous infirmity. From her birth, the nerves of her fingers had been contracted, and turned round into the palm of her hand ; the nails had pierced the hand, and penetrated as far as the bones. German then took hold of her fingers, and restored them one by one to their proper direction. When he had done this, so great was his charity in little things, we are told, that with his own hands he condescended to cut the nails of the girl, which had grown to an excessive length.

After this action, he left Autun, and proceeded on his journey to Italy. He had, as yet, advanced but a short way. The road from Auxerre to Milan, by Vienne and the Cottian Alps, is described in the Antonine Itinerary,² as being of the extent of six hundred and thirty-four Roman miles. We are not informed by which way St. German went to Italy, but the collection of circumstances may lead to a probable conjecture. There seem to have been three principal roads between Auxerre and Milan, two of which were the same, as far as Vienne. The other lay in the direction of the Jura,³ taking in Alesia, Dijon, Besançon, Pontarlier, Orbe, Lausanne, St. Maurice, Martigny, and the Great St. Bernard (the Mons Jovis.)

¹ "Votis et alloquio." Vit. S. Germ. Lib. ii. § 64. Boll. and p. 23, MS. Bodlei.

² Vid. Recueil, des Hist. tom. i. p. 105.

³ See the Map of Bouquet & Le Beuf, in Recueil des Hist. t. i.

That this road was a frequented one in early times, is shown by the famous massacre of the Christian Legion, called the Theban, by the Emperor Maximian, in the beginning of the fourth century, which took place at Agaunum, the romantic spot since called St. Maurice, from one of the martyred soldiers ; and in the ninth century, the remains of St. Urban and St. Tiburtius, which were brought from Italy to Auxerre, passed by St. Maurice.¹ However, there is more reason to think St. German followed one of the other roads. Tradition affirmed he took Vienne and Vercellæ on his way ;² and Hericus of Auxerre, whose attention had been carefully directed to every small circumstance connected with his patron Saint, tells us that the Penine Alps were famous for his miracles, and especially the Mons *minoris* Jovis, which there is every reason to suppose was the Little St. Bernard,³ as distinguished from the Great St. Bernard, *the* Mons Jovis. This inference is supported by the fact that a village, situated just under the Little St. Bernard, is named to this day Colona Joux, which latter word is a corruption of Jovis ; and perhaps still more by another village, close to the same spot, which is still called St. Germain. And indeed Hericus, in the ninth century, positively affirms that all who go to Rome must unavoidably pass by this way ; and he informs us that the village alluded to was called after St. German, because the body of the Saint not long after rested there, on its return to Gaul ; and a Church in his honour

¹ Heric. de Mir. ch. iii. 109 §.

² Ado Viennensis apud Bolland. notas.

³ See D'Anville, Descript. de la France.—Fol. Bosch. Not. ad locum Herici. ch. viii. de Mir. Arrowsmith's last large Atlas, 1832.

was there erected. It is conceived, then, that German went first to Vienne, then to the Little St. Bernard, afterwards to Eporedia, now called Ivrea, and thence to Vercelli, on towards Milan.

During his passage of the Alps, (for of this there is no doubt whatever) he fell in with some workmen who were returning from their labour. Oppressed with their burdens, they had great difficulty in ascending the mountainous steeps. They came to the banks of a torrent which, like Alpine torrents, rushed violently down the hill. The stepping-stones which were thrown across, were but uncertain and vacillating. One of the poor travellers was an old and lame man. Seeing this, German took himself the burden on his shoulders, and deposited it on the other side ; then he returned, and carried over the old man in the same way. To appreciate this signal act of charity, we are desired by Constantius to consider the extreme age of German himself. His face, he says, was emaciated by the rigour of his fasts ; he seldom eat any thing but once a week, and then only barley bread ; he never got sleep, except on a hard couch ; was ever employed in long and wearisome journeys, and was hardly able to support himself. Such was the man who, born of noble parents, and raised to the highest stations in the empire, and dignified with the title of Apostle, could lower himself towards a poor old labourer in this touching manner.

Tradition brings German next to Vercelli, where, not St. Eusebius, as Hericus supposes,¹ but some other Bishop, received him, perhaps St. Albinus. The circumstances of his reception and its results, will be best

¹ Heric. de Mir. § 29. Ughellus, Ital. Sacra, tom. iv.

understood at a later period of this narrative. Suffice it to say, that the Bishop desired St. German to dedicate on his return a Church he was building, which he promised to do. It is however to be remarked, that there is still a village near Vercelli, called after St. German.

German arrived at Milan on the Festival of St. Protasius and Gervasius ; that is, the 19th of June, 448.¹ These were the two martyrs whose remains had been discovered by Ambrose, and gave occasion to the well known miracle performed on a blind man. A great many bishops,² with other clergy, were assembled for the feast. Milan was a metropolitan See, and one which has ever possessed peculiar and independent privileges. There were fifteen Suffragan Bishops within the diocese.³ St. Barnabas the Apostle was said to have founded the See of Milan. In all probability St. Lazarus was Bishop when German arrived, if it be true that he was elected in 440, and governed eleven years. He has deserved special mention in the Roman martyrology, and been praised in ten lines of poetry by Ennodius Ticinensis.

We must now imagine St. Lazarus in the principal Church clothed with his pontifical vestments, as for a great festival of the city, after the fashion of the very ancient Mosaic representation of the Archbishop of Ravenna in the Church of San Vitale.⁴ He would be dressed in a white surplice or albe, with the pallium, the mark of his dignity, which was now coming into use in the West after the

¹ Bede *Ephemeris Junii*.

² Sacerdotes.

³ Ughellus, *Ital. Sacra*, tom. iv.

⁴ See the interesting Drawing in Knight's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*. Folio, 1842.

custom of the Oriental Churches. This pallium seems to have been very different from the Archiepiscopal pall of a later period, which resembles a stole or scarf passed round the neck and joining over the breast. In the fifth century there is reason to think it was a white woollen chasuble or cloak, which covered nearly the whole body, without seam, and open only at the top to admit the head, descending nearly to the heels, and concealing the greater part of the albe. The significance of this vestment consisted in its being an emblem of the sheep whom the Good Shepherd recovers from its wanderings and places on His shoulders. Hence it was called in Greek the Homophorion.¹ Over the pallium of St. Lazarus, a stole of white silk or other stuff would be hanging on both sides, with a small black or coloured cross at each end. In his right hand he might be carrying an image of the cross, gilt, or of gold, with blue spots at intervals, probably some precious stones of great value. The minor clergy about him would also be clad in white surplices ; some might be carrying the volume of the Gospels, others the censers with frankincense. The tonsure would be different according to the office of the ecclesiastic ; the baldness

¹ See Thomassin. de Discipl.—where the following apposite passage from St. Isidorus Pelusiota, is quoted. Lib. i. Ep. 136. “Episcopi Pallium, ὁμοφοριον ex lanâ, non ex lino contextum, ovis illius, quam Dominus aberrantem quæsit, inventamque humeris suis sustulit, pellem significat. Episcopus enim qui Christi typum gerit, ipsius munere fungitur, atque etiam ipso habitu illud omnibus ostendit, se boni illius ac magni Pastoris imitorem esse, qui gregis infirmitates sibi ferendas proposuit.”

It will be remarked, that a contrary opinion has here been admitted to that which is given in Mr. Palmer's Orig. Lib. vol. ii. p. 322.

of the Archbishop perhaps being more entire, the subordinate clergy having a kind of wreath of hair just above the temples and round by the ears. In this manner would St. Lazarus proceed to celebrate the Mass. He was now at the Altar with his Bishops and Clergy in the middle of the Sacred mysteries, when German, unknown and unexpected, entered the Cathedral. Immediately one of the people who was possessed with an evil spirit screamed out distinctly : " Why dost thou, German, persecute us even into Italy ? Let it suffice thee to have banished us from Gaul, and overcome both us and the waves of the ocean by thy prayers. Why art thou found every where ? Be still, that we also may be in peace." The Church was full of people. Every one turned round with surprise and fear. Each asked his neighbour who German might be. The dress of the traveller was so humble that he might have been overlooked, had not the dignity of his countenance attracted the attention of all. Upon being questioned, he declared who he was. By this time the Bishop of Milan and his assistants had come down from the Bema and Altar ; and signified their profound respect for the Saint of God. They entreated him to heal the madman who had declared his arrival. Then German took him apart into the Sacristy, a place adjoining the Church, where the sacred vessels were kept and the clergy changed their vestments.¹ German there released the afflicted man, and brought him back sound to the multitude who filled the Cathedral. This miracle was followed by others ; many came to be cured of their diseases, and returned in health. Crowds flocked to receive his blessing, and hear him preach.

¹ Ducange ad voc. *Secrarium*.

CHAPTER XXV.

St. German at Ravenna.

GERMAN soon left Milan, and proceeded towards Ravenna. He had not gone far when he was met by some beggars, who requested an alms. Having enquired of a Deacon who attended him, how much there was in the bag, he was told, three pieces of gold. "Give them all," he said. The Deacon surprised, asked what they themselves were to live upon. "God," said he, "will feed his own poor ; do thou give what thou hast." The Deacon to be prudent gave away two pieces, and secretly reserved one. As they advanced in the direction of the river Po, they were overtaken by some men on horseback, who dismounting and falling on their knees, informed him that their master Leporius, a man in high authority,¹ who lived not far off, was ill with all his family of a fever ; they entreated him to repair thither, or if this were impossible, to pray for Leporius at a distance. But German consented to go out of his way, and came to the residence of the nobleman, notwithstanding the objections urged by his attendants. The men who had desired his aid, immediately offered the present of two hundred pieces of gold which had been sent by them. Then he turned to the Deacon and said : "Take this offering, and consider that thou hast defrauded God's own poor ; for if thou hadst given to the beggars the three pieces as I charged thee,

¹ Vir spectabilis.

we should now have received three hundred pieces instead of two hundred." His companion blushed to think his secret actions should thus have been disclosed.

They then hastened to Leporius, who was highly pleased to see German. Upon entering, the latter fell down in prayer, and forthwith healed the nobleman and all his family. Then he visited the cottages in the neighbourhood where the epidemic raged, and cured every one. This miracle took place not far from Milan, at the village of Niguarda,¹ where a Church dedicated to St. German is said still to bear witness to his visit. This had necessarily caused considerable delay, and it was not before the third day that he was able to set out again, accompanied a short way by Leporius himself.

In the mean time, fame had given notice of his progress at Ravenna, where he was expected with great anxiety. Like Sidonius Apollinaris, on a similar expedition, nineteen years after, he would descend into the plains of the Po, following, however, the course of the yellow Lambro, instead of the Tessin, to Placentia, a town he was afterwards to revisit under very different circumstances. Then embarking on the post-barges of the Po,² he would pass by the conflux of the blue Adda, the swift Adige, the sluggish Mincio, which take their sources in the Ligurian and Euganean mountains; his eyes would be refreshed by the shades of the groves of oaks and maple trees which crown their

¹ Bosch. not ad locum Const.

² "Cursoriam sic navigio nomen." Sid. Apoll. Ep. v. lib. i. "Celoces et holcadas, quibus excursus per alveum Padi faciebant." Cassiodorus apud Notas in Sid. Apoll. Sirmond.

banks, where the sweet concert of birds issued at the same time from the rushes and reeds of their bed, and the thickets and bushes which so closely line the way. He would, like Sidonius, pass under the walls of Cremona, and perhaps remember Virgil's verses ; then behold at a little distance, the scene of Otho's single act of heroism, the memorable town of Brixillum, and at last arrive by one of the many mouths of the Po, in sight of Ravenna.

Ravenna, we are told, was not originally a Roman colony, but a municipal town,¹ to which the Romans granted the right of governing itself by its own laws, the privilege of having the same offices and dignities as the Roman people, and exemption from all kind of tribute. Here was the residence of the Prætor. The assemblies of the provinces were held in it, and a large fleet filled the fine harbour. Of late, the Roman Emperors had been much attached to this town, which always remained faithful. Honorius and Valentinian III. had fixed their abode here, and built palaces. In subsequent times, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, made it the centre of his new kingdom ; and till the middle of the eighth century, Ravenna was considered the capital of Italy and the seat of government. The palace and sepulchre of Theodoric may still be seen.² "At Ravenna," says Sidonius,³ "you might be perplexed to know whether the great imperial street which traverses it, connects or separates the old city from the new harbour. Two branches of the Po circulate through the town and divide it. This river, which

¹ See Not. in Sid. Ap. ed. Lyons, 1836.

² Gibbon, tom. iv. p. 28. Knight's Eccles. Architect.

³ Sid. Apoll. Epist. 5. b. i.

was drawn off from the principal stream by artificial means, has been divided into various channels, which flow round the walls of the city and defend it from external attack, and again penetrate into the interior, for the advantage of commerce. Every thing here is in favour of traffic ; provisions are in abundance. Yet when the salt waters of the sea enter by the flood-gates on one side, and on the other the miry waters of the canals are agitated by the many boats which pass to and fro, and the mud is dug up by the poles of the sailors who steer their way : even in the middle of water we were thirsty ; in truth, nowhere is the aqueduct itself quite limpid, nor the cistern without impurities ; much less is there a fresh source or a clean well." This, of course, is in some measure a partial description of the majestic Ravenna ; and a more complete idea may be obtained from Gibbon ;¹ yet it well represents the great feature of the place, intersected as it was with canals, and surrounded by extensive marshes and the sea.

German had managed to arrive there by night, to avoid publicity ; yet the people were on the look-out for him, and he did not enter unobserved. The chief men of the town came out to meet him, with numbers of all rank and age. Among these was St. Peter, Archbishop of Ravenna, surnamed Chrysologus, from his eloquence, and well known in the Church. Of him it is that the following interesting anecdote has been preserved in the Breviary Service for his Festival, the 4th of December. "In his sermons addressed to the people, his language was often so energetic, that the vehemence of his exertions sometimes caused his voice to fail all at once. This hap-

¹ Tom. iv. p. 27.

pened on the occasion of his Discourse upon the Woman that had the issue of blood. The inhabitants of Ravenna, seeing the impediment which had suddenly come upon him, moved with sympathy, filled the place with such earnest lamentations and prayers to God, that afterwards he returned thanks to God that the injury which his voice and discourse had received had been turned to such a demonstration of love." The Roman Breviary has besides, several Lessons, taken from his writings, for the Festivals of other Saints, as many are aware. Of him it was also said, that he literally governed his Church according to the Apostolic precepts.¹ His life in the Episcopate was similar to that which he had led before his elevation ; for he had been a monk. He was, moreover, in high favour with the Emperor and Empress. Six other Bishops were likewise in the suite of German, but their names are not given. It would require no great stretch of imagination to seek for the great St. Leo the Pope among them. He was a personal friend of St. Peter Chrysologus, and much in request at the Court of Ravenna, which he had often served in emergencies. But as Constantius is silent, it is more probable they were suffragan Bishops of St. Peter,² one of whom might be Cornelius, Bishop of Imola, an intimate friend of Chrysologus, to whose elevation he had been instrumental.³

As soon as German was known to have arrived, the Empress Placidia sent a valuable vessel of silver to

¹ Constantius § 70. Bolland. Tillemont, tom. xv. Ughellus, tom. ii. p. 332.

² There were ten Suffragans of Ravenna.

³ See Ughellus, tom. ii. p. 332. ed. 1647.

him, filled with delicate provisions, without any mixture of flesh. Having accepted the present, he delivered the contents to his followers and his clerical attendants, and begged leave to sell the silver vessel for the sake of the poor. As a return to the Empress, he sent her a little wooden dish, containing some barley bread. Placidia was greatly pleased with the action of German, and received with deep reverence the humble platter and food of the Saint. Afterwards, she caused the wooden dish to be chased in gold, and preserved the bread, which became afterwards the means of many miraculous cures.¹

Galla Placidia was mother of the Emperor Valentinian III., and sister of the late Emperor Honorius. Three females were at this time at the head of the government in the Western and Eastern Empires. Pulcheria and Eudocia, the sister and wife of the young Theodosius, reigned supreme at Constantinople. Placidia, taught by a life of adventures and troubles, directed the affairs of the West. Her son, Valentinian, had been on the throne since 425, that is, twenty-three years. Grandson of the Great Theodosius, he did not prove that the talent which misses one generation returns in the next. "His long minority," says Gibbon, "was entrusted to the guardian care of a mother, who might assert a female claim to the succession of the Western Empire—Placidia ; but she could not equal the reputation and virtues of the wife and sister of Theodosius (the younger), the elegant genius of Eudocia, the wise and successful policy of Pulcheria. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power which she was incapable of exercising ; she reigned twenty-five years in the name of her son ; and the character of that un-

¹ So Tillemont renders the passage. Art. de St. Germain.

worthy Emperor gradually countenanced the suspicion that Placidia had enervated his youth by a dissolute education, and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit." This portrait is here given, chiefly as indicating a subject for candid enquiry, should a mind more congenial to Christian and Catholic development than that of Gibbon, be turned to the study of the ambiguous characters of Placidia and Valentinian. Constantius, whose friend, Sidonius Apollinaris, was acquainted with the Court of Ravenna as well as any of his age, positively affirms that Placidia and Valentinian were both zealous for the Catholic faith, and though so high in the world, were ever known to lower themselves for the honour of God's servants. On the occasion we are now interested in, it is certain they were foremost in showing the greatest respect to German ; nor could it be said that Ambrose, when suing for a guilty province at the Court of Theodosius the Great, had met with more deference and considerateness than now was evinced by the grand-son of that prince to the advocate of the Armoricans.

Some short time, it appears, elapsed before he found a favourable opportunity of laying the cause of this people before Valentinian. One day as he was walking in one of the broadest streets surrounded by a number of persons, he passed by the gates of the prison, then filled with many who had been doomed to die or suffer some severe penalty. Hearing that German was passing by, they all at once raised a loud cry. He enquired the cause, and called for the door-keepers, who had concealed themselves, and learnt from them that the dissensions of the contending factions at court had occasioned a recent importation of these unhappy victims into the state prisons.

Those who are acquainted with the history of this period, will be able to understand how many acts of tyranny were then executed in the imperial name, though in fact they emanated from subordinate ministers and officers. When German saw that it was useless to seek for mercy elsewhere, he had recourse to that Divine aid which had so often been present with him. He advanced towards the prison and fell down in prayer. It was not long before its efficacy was manifested. The bars and bolts of the gates were suddenly loosened, and a number of prisoners came forth with their chains unfastened, which they held up to the view of the multitude. Prisons are made for the lawless, and for the protection of justice and peace ; in this case, says Constantius, law seemed to be justified in the violation of its securities. The released men then, together with German and the whole multitude, proceeded to the Church to return thanks.

The fame of his miracles daily spread ; people came from all sides. The sick and infirm were healed. It seemed that the gift of Christ obtained more virtue as German was drawing to the close of his life. The seven Bishops before mentioned, among whom was St. Peter Chrysologus, hardly ever left his side. They were alike filled with astonishment at the incessant mortifications he practised, and the wonderful miracles he performed. And their testimony, which is of the highest character, as Constantius expressly declares, is corroborative of the evidence for his miracles which are proved from so many other sources.¹

There was a man about the court who acted as chief secretary to the Patrician Segisvultus.² He had a son

¹ " *Hi testes operum illius multis temporibus fuere.*"

² " *Qui tum patritii Segisvulti cancellis præerat.*"

that was dying of a low fever. The physicians had given him over, and his parents were in the utmost affliction. At last they bethought themselves of seeking help from the Bishop of Auxerre. Their son could scarcely be said to live. They came with their relations and friends and humbly implored his assistance. The Bishops, his companions, joined in the request. He then hastened to visit the dying youth. While they were going, a messenger came to say that the son of Volusianus (for so the Secretary was called) was dead, and that there was no longer any need of troubling the holy man. The other Bishops, however, would not let him stop, but earnestly bid him perfect the work of mercy. They found the body lifeless ; the heat of nature had gone, the corpse was cold as stone. They then offered up a prayer for the rest of his soul,¹ and were on the point of returning, when the by-standers began to weep and bewail bitterly. The Bishops then entreated him to pray the Lord in behalf of the bereaved parents, for the restoration of the youth. He hesitated long ; if we except the uncertain miracle performed in the company of St. Anian, near Orleans, this was the first call upon his power for raising a dead man. Such a deed had scarcely been known in ecclesiastical history. However, we are told, his feelings of compassion and charity, combined with that confidence which so long a life of faith produced, urged him to make the trial. He removed the crowd, as when his Master had raised the daughter of Jairus ; then like Elijah and Elisha, he knelt down over the corpse. His tears fell in abundance, and he called instantly upon the name of Christ. In the meantime, the dead youth began to move, and by degrees the limbs recovered

¹ *Depositæque pro animæ requie oratione.*"

their animation. The eyes sought the light, the fingers began to bend, the tongue to falter. Then German arose from prayer, and raised up the youth, who like Lazarus might be said "to have slept but not unto death." He sat up, drew his breath, stretched himself, looked around. At last his whole strength returned. Great was the joy of his parents, loud were the acclamations of the people. The end of German was near at hand ; this miracle was a kind of type of the glory which was soon to be given to him.

There was yet another about the court who had reason to be grateful to him. This was a pupil of the Eunuch Acholius¹ who held the chief office of Chamberlain. He had brought up the young man with great care, and imbued him with a love for letters. An evil spirit however crushed his energies ; every month at the moon's full, he was seized with what is called the falling sickness, of which there is frequent mention in ancient history.² Cæsar, according to Plutarch, was subject to it ; and there have been some who thought St. Paul was liable to it.⁵ All the authority of the imperial household was used to obtain German's help. Accordingly when he had examined the young man, contrary to his practice, (for he was wont to expel the most furious spirits by simple imposition of hands), he deferred purifying him to another day. The malign influence had made the unfortunate young man a very receptacle, as it were, of Satan's operations. German desired he might be left

¹ Or Scolius. Bodl. MS. In this MS. here follows a story referred by Bosch. to Hericus's Works. It is also found in the Codex Chifflet., but in a different place. It is here omitted as unimportant and uncertain.

² " Caduca allisione prosternit."

³ Bishop Bull. Serm.

alone with him for the night. In the same night the evil spirit came out of him, wallowing and confessing that it had dwelt in him since his earliest years. The young man thus restored to health, soon returned to his station in the palace.

The time was come when he deemed it seasonable to explain the object of his journey. His negotiations with the Emperor and Empress proved successful ; and he might have carried home their pardon to the Armoricans, with terms of peace. But while he was interceding for them, the news came that this restless people had again revolted. The efforts he had made were thus rendered void. And the Emperor was greatly irritated at their conduct. A learned and ingenious writer,¹ whose chronological views alone need here be suspected, conjectures with great probability, that the reasons which might induce the Armoricans to thwart the negotiations of their deputy, were such as the following. Aetius, the Patrician, their great enemy and dread, was at this time embarrassed with his war against the Franks, who, under their king Clodion, were then making an invasion into the north of Gaul, where they had taken possession of Cambray and Tournay. Secondly, the extreme misery of all who lived within the Roman dominion, except the nobles and chief men, and the continual reinforcements which daily desertions brought to the Armorican confederacy, would at the same time raise their expectations of success in rebellion, and make them still more averse to further connexion with the Empire. Moreover it appears there was a very general feeling abroad that the duration of the Roman power, as foretold by the

¹ L'Abbé Dubos *Etablissement de la Monarchie Française.* tom. i. p. 393.

ancient pagan oracles, was now about to expire. Lastly, the officers and auxiliaries appear to have taken an unfair advantage of the suspension of arms, in order to form underhand a party within the Armorican republic, with a view to an easier conquest hereafter. Whether Eochar, with that inconsistency which is so frequent after sudden revivals of conscience, and that natural tendency of a Barbarian to gratify whatever impression was uppermost, violated his sacred engagements with German and gave fresh alarm to the Armoricans, we are not strictly informed. It might seem indeed that this latter people trifled with the character of their ambassador. But the case requires consideration. The pardon and favour of the Court of Ravenna, though the most easily obtained, was not after all the main point to be gained. When there are many degrees of authority, it is the nearest to themselves which men are most interested in conciliating. As long as Aetius and the Alani remained in their neighbourhood, the Armoricans would ever have to fear. It was also an impolitic measure, though the only one practicable, to apply to the Court of Ravenna, instead of Aetius. However, the revolt of the nation was soon after followed by a severe chastisement at the hands of their enemies.¹ Still up to the great invasion of the Huns in 451, the Armoricans had not been entirely subdued, and continued to give no little anxiety to the vigilant Patrician. But when this scourge of God threatened Gaul, political animosities were laid aside, and all the inhabitants of the country united against Attila and his forces.² And now to return.

¹ Constantius.

² Dubos, tom. i. p. 439-441.

CHAPTER XXVI.

His Death.

ONE morning after the celebration of mass (the expression belongs to the original), St. German was discoursing upon subjects of religion with the Bishops that waited on him. In the middle of the conversation he said to them : “ I commend to you, beloved brethren, my death. Methought, during the sleep of the night, I received from our Lord the provisions for a journey ; and when I asked the cause of this journey, ‘ Fear not, he said, I send thee to thy proper country, to no foreign land ; there thou shalt have eternal rest and peace.’ ” The Bishops then endeavoured to interpret the dream otherwise ; but he continued to refer it to his death ; “ I well know what that country is which God promises to his servants.” His foresight was not at fault. A few days after, on the 25th of July, 448, A. D., he was taken seriously ill. When he grew no better but ever worse, the whole city was moved. It was clear death was now approaching with rapid strides, as if to spare him, who had died for thirty years to the world, the sufferings of a protracted departure. Among the numbers who came to pay their last respects to him while alive, was the Empress Placidia. Putting aside the grandeur of her rank, she hastened to visit his bedside. She then promised to grant whatever he should ask. Upon one thing he laid great stress : his body was to be restored to his native country ; nor was it a request which Placidia was inclined to accept. He was not however re-

fused. In the meantime multitudes came to visit the dying Saint by night and by day. During the seven days of his sickness, there was a choir at his bedside singing Psalms. On the seventh day, says Constantius, the 31st of July, the happy and blessed soul of German was carried up to heaven.¹ He had been Bishop thirty years and twenty-five days.

His inheritance was then divided. The chief claimants were the Emperor and the Empress, his mother, and the Bishops. His relics were esteemed worth all other riches, and each one endeavoured out of the little the Saint had to leave, to obtain something. Placidia got the little box which enclosed the relics of the Apostles and Martyrs which German wore at his breast, and with which he had performed miracles. St. Peter Chrysologus took for himself the monk's hood,² with the hair cloth which touched his skin.³ The other Bishops, in order to obtain some small legacy, were content to tear the garments which remained ; one took the over-coat,⁴ another the belt ; two divided the tunic, two others the coarse cloth⁵ on which he lay.

The magnificence of the funeral procession displayed the zeal of the court and city. All came forward to contribute. Acholius, the Eunuch of the royal chamber, whose pupil had been healed by German, presented costly spices to embalm his body. The Empress Placidia, covered it with a rich dress, with the Eagle and the imperial arms designed upon it, in which silk, a very precious material at that time, was combined with fine

¹ See ult. § Const. Bodl. M.S. and Bolland. Robert. Monach. Chron. Ed. 1609, Trecis.

² Cuculla.

³ Cum interiori cilicio.

⁴ Pallium, not the pall apparently, as he was not Metropolitan.

⁵ Sagulum vid. *suprà*, p. 54. Not.

embroidery ;¹ and had it placed in a coffin of cypress wood ; both which were long after preserved at Auxerre, and seen by Hericus. The Emperor paid the expenses of the Translation to Gaul, and conferred a munificent largess upon the clerical and lay attendants of the departed Saint. The ceremonies in use for the translation of a corpse, were then performed by the Bishops who had been with him in his last hours. At the head of these was the Archbishop of Ravenna, St. Peter Chrysologus. The Church has subjects of glory and exultation which seem singular to the world. Among them is the honour of burying Saints and attending their last hours. “To St. Peter, says the Breviary, the honour was granted of burying two Saints who died at Ravenna, Barbatian the Presbyter, and German Bishop of Auxerre, whose bodies he embalmed with costly ointments.” After the preparations were concluded, messengers were sent before the funeral procession to prepare the due solemnities wherever he should pass.²

The procession then set off. Its splendour and pomp were almost unequalled. A vast concourse of people followed. It arrived at Placentia by night. The coffin was deposited in the Cathedral, and a vigil instituted, during which religious offices were performed. Then a woman, an inhabitant of Placentia, who had a palsy, and had lost the use of her limbs, requested the permission to lie under the coffin ; and in this position she remained till the return of day. Early the coffin was taken up, and the woman rose. She had recovered the soundness of her body, and to the amazement of all,

¹ Constantius et Hericus de Miraculis. Bosch. Comm.

² This phrase of Const. is thus explained by Hericus de Mir.
§ 27.

walked on with the rest of the people who followed the funeral march.

St. German, when he before passed through Vercelli, had given a promise to the Bishop of that town, probably St. Albinus, that he would on his return from Ravenna dedicate a new Church. When, therefore, says Hericus, the Bishop heard of his death, he proceeded to consecrate it himself. According to custom, he gave orders that the candles should be lighted. But it was in vain ; the candles could not be lighted, the servants tried repeatedly without effect. This lasted for several days, and the Bishop was finally forced to desist. In the meantime, news arrived that the procession was approaching. St. Albinus went out to meet it, and brought the coffin into the new Church. Scarcely had it entered, when the whole Church in an instant lighted up. The Bishop perceived the signal for the dedication was now given, and he performed it. The name of this Church we are told is at present St. Eusebius.

And now the procession moved on again. The natives of Gaul having heard of German's decease, flocked to meet the body of him, whom they considered a patron Saint of their land.¹ At the passage of the Alps, a large multitude were ready to escort him into Gaul.² Each one pressed forward to have the honour of bearing the coffin ; and thus it was borne along by successive carriers ; while the rest filled the air with hymns and exclamations of thanksgiving. The way was covered with memorials which attested the progress of the body. The ardour of the people facilitated the passage of the Alps.³ Some were busied in levelling the roads, others filled the precipices, and restored the decayed bridges.

¹ Const. § 76.

² Hericus, 31, 32.

³ Const.

Many brought offerings of money to defray the expenses. A great number of lights shone in the procession both by day and by night, challenging even the rays of the sun with their brightness.¹ Among those who came to meet the corpse, was one Saturnus, a presbyter and disciple of German. He was noted for his sanctity, and lived in terms of great intimacy with his master. By his order he had remained at Auxerre, while German repaired to Ravenna. On the day in which the latter died, an angel is said to have revealed his decease to Saturnus. Upon which he imparted the sad intelligence to the inhabitants of Auxerre, who accompanied in great numbers to the foot of the Alps. An ancient inscription on marble, preserved at Auxerre in the time of Hericus, bore witness to this fact.

But perhaps the most touching circumstance of the procession was the following. It will have been remarked that the corpse advanced but slowly, as it was borne on men's shoulders, and consequently, a multitude of ardent persons were enabled to accompany from every town the escort for some distance. But the names of five females have been preserved, who followed on foot the body, the whole way from Ravenna. They were all virgins, and some, if not all, sisters. They were called, St. Magnentia, St. Palladia, St. Camilla, St. Maxima, St. Porcaria.² The three first died, one after the other, before they reached the term of their pilgrimage. A solemn burial was performed for them, at the high-road side, and Churches soon after were erected over their remains, and dedicated to them, where many miracles were performed. The two others endured the fatigue, and arrived at Auxerre, to see

¹ Constantius.

² Hericus de Mir. § 33.

the body of German interred. St. Maxima, one of these, was subsequently buried near the Church at Auxerre, where German lay. The remains of St. Porcaria, the other, were deposited nine miles from the town, and were famous for the miraculous cures which there took place. Till very late, we learn there was an ancient tomb existing,¹ in which the body of St. Magnentia, one of those who died on the road, had been laid, and upon which there was the representation of this holy virgin, dying in a bed surrounded by other virgins. And a monument which existed in 1567, in the monastery of St. German, according to the official statement of the then Bishop of Auxerre, bore this inscription, "Here lies the body of the Lady St. Maxima, Virgin, who accompanied the body of St. German from Ravenna to this monastery, together with St. Palladia, St. Magnentia, St. Camilla, and St. Porcaria." From which, it appears these holy virgins were persons of rank.

At last the body arrived at Auxerre. Fifty-three days, says Hericus,² had elapsed since German died at Ravenna. On the 22nd of September, the procession entered the Church of St. Stephen, accompanied by the whole population of the town. Here was the episcopal throne. During ten successive days, the corpse there lay exposed; religious offices were continued all the while. When all the rites preparatory to inhuming were completed, the coffin was committed to the sepulchre, on the 1st of October, 448, A. D., in the presence of a multitude of strangers, as well as inhabitants of Auxerre, among whom, says Hericus, there were many Bishops and Priests from distant provinces;—perhaps St. Lupus, St. Hilary, St. Seve-

¹ Bosch. Not. apud Bolland.

² § 34, § 37.

rus, St. Anian, St. Eucher—the friends of the departed Saint. The place of the burial was not the Church of St. Stephen, where the Exposition had taken place, but an oratory or chapel, in one of those estates which he had given up to the Church when he parted with his patrimony and other possessions. This chapel was dedicated to St. Maurice, and German had appointed the Presbyter Saturnus, the same who came out to meet the procession, to perform the ecclesiastical duties in it. This place, says Constantius, ever showed, by the miracles which were henceforth manifested there, that German in glory was still alive with his Church.

The 1st of October, the day of his Deposition, seems to have been, in primitive times, the principal Festival of the Saint,¹ especially in Gaul and Britain. The 31st of July² was next, if not quite equal, in the honour with which it was observed, and, in process of time, it has come to supersede the former, except at Auxerre, where these two Festivals, with four others in the course of the year, are still kept with great solemnities.

CHAPTER XXVII.

His Canonization.

THE history of St. German *alive*, is thus resumed in four verses of Bede's Ephemeris, or Calendar :—³

¹ Martyrol. Antissiod. 1751. ² See Bede Martyrol. & Calend.

³ Calend. Octob.

Germanusque simul doctrina insignis et actu,
 Tum propriam munît meritis Antissiodorum,
 Qui Oceano fidei refugas et dogma nefandum
 Reppulit, et signis te picta Britannia textit.

For deeds and doctrine German far renowned,
 Auxerre, his native city, raised on high,
 The Ocean crossed, to probe the faith unsound ;
 Then stemming proud Pelagius' impious lie,
 Anon the verdant plains of Britain fair,
 He covered o'er with signs and wonders rare.

The history of St. German *dead*, that is, of the effects which were owing to his presence in the spirit, among the flock he had tended alive, would embrace a period of at least twelve centuries. Among the early testimonies which redound to his honour, that of the great Apostle of the Franks, St. Remy, must not be omitted.¹ About a century after, it is said, from the great veneration which he had for German of Auxerre, he erected a Church in tribute to him, where he destined his own remains to be deposited ; and it became famous for the miracles there performed.

But still more honourable to our Saint, whose rank in the sacred Calendar is that of Confessor and Bishop, (Pontificis) is the very ancient office called the Mass of St. German, which Cardinal Bona has published from an old manuscript, and which used to be celebrated, not long after German's death, annually, on his Festival in Gaul. The uniformity of the Canon had, as yet, not been everywhere enforced, and Churches seem to have had the privilege of either adopting uses of their own, or of inserting sections and prayers into the

¹ Martyr. Antiss. sub nom. Remigii.

most received form of Mass.¹ The following document seems to be a specimen of the latter :—²

MASS OF ST. GERMAN.

MISSA ST. GERMANI.

PREFACE.

PRÆFATIO.

Dearly beloved brethren, let us celebrate with ready devotion this august and sacred day, imploring humbly the mercy of our Lord, that we who cannot indeed equal the deeds, may be enabled, at least, to follow the footsteps and imitate the Faith of the blessed Bishop and Confessor German, whose example we admire.

Venerabilem diem atque sublimem, Fratres Carissimi, prompta devotione celebremus, misericordiam Domini nostri suppliciter exorantes, ut Beatissimi Germani Antistitis et Confessoris sui, cujus exempla miramur, etsi æquari factis ejus non possumus, saltem vestigia sequi, et fidem nobis contingat imitari.

COLLECT.

COLLECTIO.

We give Thee thanks, Almighty God, for the wonderful gifts (*virtutibus*) of the blessed German, Thy Bishop, which Thou, Almighty Father, didst justly grant unto him, because he loved Thee, in his Apostolical profession, more than all things. He cast away riches from him, that by poverty of spirit he might ascend into the kingdom of heaven. He observed meekness, that he might through the spirit inherit the earth in the flesh. He was pleased to mourn in this world that he might enjoy heavenly

Gratias tibi agimus Omnipotens Deus pro virtutibus Beatissimi Germani Antistitis tui, quas ei Pater omnipotens non immerito tribuisti, quia te Apostolica confessione rebus omnibus plus amavit; discussit a se divitias, ut paupertate spiritus cœlorum regna conscenderet: mansuetudinem tenuit, ut terram sui corporis spiritualiter possideret. Neque delectatus est in sæculo, ut cœlestem consolationem ex muneris tui largitate perciperet: justitiam esurivit atque sitivit, ut tuis saturaretur elo-

¹ Card. Bona. De Rebus Lit. 93. Ed. 4to.

² The Titles are part of the document.

consolation, from the abundance of Thy bounty. He hungered and thirsted after righteousness, that he might be filled with Thy word; he was ever merciful (*or* he ever gave alms to the poor *eleemosynam jugiter fecit*) that he might continually obtain Thy mercy, not only for himself, but for others also. Purity of heart he cultivated, that he might see Thee. He preserved the Faith, that he might be united with Thy children in brotherly communion. By whose intercession we pray.

(Here two lines are erased.)

AFTER THE NAMES.

Having heard the names of those who make their oblations, let us implore the long-suffering clemency of God, that these oblations of his people, which we offer up in honour of the Blessed Bishop and Confessor German.....(*something here wanting*) Let us celebrate this solemn and high day, with the unshaken liberty of that Faith which he defended with constant purpose, in order that the strength of his patience.....
(Here also two lines are erased.)

Let us also pray for the spirits of those that are dear to us, the number and names of whom the same Almighty God

quiiis : eleemosynam jugiter fecit, ut indesinenter non tantum sibi, sed et cæteris pietatis tuæ misericordiam obtineret : puritatem cordis habuit, ut te videret : fidem servavit, ut filiis tuis fraterna se participatione conjungeret. Per cujus interventum precamur.....

(Desunt hic duæ lineæ abrasæ.)

POST NOMINA.

Auditis nominibus offerentium, indeficientem divinam clementiam deprecemur, ut has oblationes plebis, quas in honorem Beatissimi Germani Antistitis et Confessoris offerimus.....(*deest aliquid*) Signatum diem hodiernæ solennitatis celebremus cum inconcussâ fidei libertate, quam ille constanti mente defendit, ut robur patientiæ ejus.....

(Desunt hic etiam duæ lineæ abrasæ.)

Oremus etiam et pro spiritibus carorum nostrorum, quorum idem Omnipotens Deus et numerum novit et nomina, ut

knoweth, that he may be mindful of all, and remit the sins of all. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

omnium memoriam faciat, omnium peccata dimittat. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

COLLECT AT THE SALUTATION
OF PEACE, PAX VOBISCUM.¹

God, for whose sacred name, Thy blessed Bishop, German, desired to endure persecution for righteousness's sake, inasmuch, that, though he did not suffer martyrdom, he yet reached forward to it by faith, and feared not to subject himself to the hatred and slanders of men, so as he might obtain an abundant reward in heaven, and attain unto those great blessings of the Gospel; we pray Thee, by his intercession, to grant that peace to Thy Church henceforth for ever, which he loved on earth, according to Thy command. Through our Lord.

PREFACE TO THE CANON OF
THE MASS.²

It is meet and right; it is very meet and right that we should give thanks unto Thee, and sing praises to Thy Fa-

COLLECTIO AD PACEM.

Deus, pro cujus sacro nomine Beatus Germanus Antistes tuus desideravit persecutionem pati propter justitiam, ut etsi martyrdom non perferret, fide tamen pertenderet: nec timeret odiis hominum et maledictionibus subjacere, dummodo mercedem copiosum consequeretur in cœlo, et ad illas beatitudines Evangelicas perveniret; te per hujus interventum precamur, ut pacem quam te jubente dilexit in sæculo, perpetualiter Ecclesiæ possidendam tribuas in futuro. Per Dominum nostrum.

CONTESTATIO MISSÆ.

Dignum et justum est: verè æquum et justum est nos tibi gratias agere, et pietati tuæ in honorem summi sacerdotis tui

¹ See Ducange ad Voc. Osculum. See also Bingham, xiii. 8. 13.

² Contestatio, idem sonat quod Contestada; ita enim appellari *Præfactionem*, seu Orationem quæ Canon præmittitur, quæ disponitur Sacerdos et populus ad tremendorum mysteriorum confectioem, quod, ut est in Codice Thuano "Contestetur Sacerdos fidam ac veram professionem populi, id est gratias referre Deo dignum esse."

Canon Missæ, Oratio, quæ in Missa ante Consecrationem, et in ipsâ consecratione divinæ hostiæ recitatur à sacerdote, quæ ideo Canon vocatur, "quia in ea est legitima et regularis sacramentorum Confectio."

therly kindness (*pietati tuæ*) in honour of Thy glorious Priest German, both Bishop and Confessor, and that we should offer up our petitions, and recount his great gifts, which Thou, O Lord, Father Almighty, justly didst grant unto him, because in his Apostolical profession he loved Thee more than all things, &c. (*The words are repeated from the first Collect, then is added.*) He loved Thee, O Lord, with all his heart, and with all his mind, and with all his soul, and he loved his neighbour as himself; that, as the whole law and the prophets hang upon these two precepts, he might attain unto those blessings of the Gospel which we have recounted. And whereas Thou, O Lord Jesus Christ, hast said unto thy Apostles, to go all over the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature, and work miracles, these things Thy devoted servant Bishop German¹...following their footsteps, through all Gaul, at Rome (Ravenna?), in Italy, and in Britain; and being afflicted in the body for thirty years...continually preached in Thy name extirpated heresies, brought round the people to a full and perfect faith, cast out

Germani Episcopi et Confessoris laudes canere, vota persolvere, ejusque enarrare virtutes, quas ei Domine Pater Omnipotens non immerito tribuisti, quia te Apostolica confessione rebus omnibus plus amavit, &c. (*Repetit ea quæ habentur suprâ in prima Collecta, tum subdit.*) Dilexit te Domine ex toto corde, et ex totâ mente, et ex totâ anima sua, et proximum suum tamquam seipsum; ut secundum quod in his duobus mandatis universa lex et Prophetæ pendebant, ad eas quas diximus evangelicas beatitudines perveniret. Et quia tu Domine Jesu Christi Apostolis tuis dixeras, ut euntes per universum mundum universæ creaturæ evangelium predicarent, et virtutes efficerent, hæc tuus devotissimus Germanus Episcopus.....eorum vestigia subsecutus per totas Gallias, Romæ, in Italia, in Britannîâ annis triginta corpore afflictus.....jugiter in tuo nomine prædicavit, hæreses abstulit, adduxit populum ad plenam et integram fidem, ejecit dæmones, mortuos suscitavit, ægris reddidit pristinam sanitatem, implevitque omnia sig-

¹ Supply "hath accomplished," the MS. being here erased.

devils, raised the dead, restored to the sick their former health, and having obtained this great power, performed every other sign. He began and advanced. He fought and conquered. He fulfilled his course, and passed by the darkness of death, to join the company of martyrs, having brought forth fruit an hundred-fold, and having, after this life ended, gone to dwell in the kingdom of heaven. In this belief, O God, the Father Almighty, we beseech Thee humbly, that being commended to Thy Fatherly kindness by his patronage and intercessions in Thy presence, we may obtain in all things Thy mercy, praising Thee, and saying, in the words of Angelic praise, Holy, holy, holy.

na, virtutes utique adeptus. Sic cœpit ut cresceret. Sic pugnavit ut vinceret. Sic consummavit, ut mortis tenebras præteriret, Martyriis se conjungeret stola, cum centesimum fructum perceperit, et vita hac peracta regnum inhabitârit æternum. Quod credentes Deus Pater Omnipotens supplices exoramus, ut in ejus apud te patrociniis et intercessionibus pietati tuæ commendati nos in omnibus tuam misericordiam consequamur, Angelica te exultatione laudantes et dicentes. Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

COLLECT AFTER THE SANCTUS.

Blessed truly be He that cometh in the name of the Lord, Blessed be God, the king of Israel; peace on earth, and glory in the highest. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son, who the day before He suffered.....

COLLECTIO POST SANCTUS.

Benedictus planè qui venit in nomine Domini, benedictus Deus, Rex Israel, pax in terra, gloria in excelsis. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui pridie quam pateretur.....

AFTER THE CONSECRATION.

Let Thy holy Word descend, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, upon these our oblations:

POST SECRETA.

Descendat, precamur Omnipotens Deus, super hæc quæ tibi offerimus, Verbum

Let the Spirit of Thy inestimable glory descend : Let the gift of Thy ancient long-suffering descend,¹ that our oblation may become an acceptable and spiritual sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour. May Thy mighty right hand also defend Thy servants, through the blood of Christ.

tuum sanctum : descendat inæstimabilis gloriæ tuæ Spiritus : descendat antiquæ indulgentiæ tuæ donum, ut fiat oblatio nostra hostia spiritalis in odorem suavitatis accepta. Etiam nos famulos tuos per sanguinem Christi tua manus dextera invicta custodiat.

BEFORE THE LORD'S PRAYER. ANTE ORATIONEM DOMINICAM.

Acknowledge, O Lord, the words which Thou hast taught, pardon that presumption which Thou hast commanded : It is ignorance not to know our deserts, it is contumacy not to keep the command, whereby we are enjoined to say, Our Father, &c.

Agnosce Domine verba quæ præcepisti, ignosce præsumptioni quam imperasti : ignorantia est non nosse meritum, contumacia est non servare mandatum, quo dicere jubemur, Pater noster, &c.

AFTER THE PRAYER.

POST ORATIONEM.

Deliver us from all evil, O God, the Author of all good things, from all temptation, from all offence, from all work of darkness, and establish us in all good, and give peace in our days, O Author of peace and charity. Through our Lord.

(*The Blessing of the people is wanting.*)

Libera nos a malis omnibus, auctor bonorum Deus, ab omni tentatione, ab omni scandalo, ab omni opere tenebrarum, et constitue nos in omni bono, et da pacem in diebus nostris, auctor pacis et charitatis. Per Dominum nostrum.

(*Benedictio populi deest.*)

COLLECT AFTER THE
EUCCHARIST.

COLLECTIO POST
EUCCHARISTIAM.

We have taken from the sacred altar the body and blood of

Sumpsimus ex sacris altaribus Christi Domini ac Dei

¹ Bona takes occasion here to observe, that this invocation after the Consecration, contains nothing inconsistent with the Faith.

Christ, our Lord and our God... believing in the unity of the Blessed Trinity. We pray that always full of faith we may hunger and thirst after righteousness, and being strengthened by the grace of the meat of salvation, we may so do His work, that the sacrament which we have received may not be our condemnation, but our remedy. Through our Lord.

nostri corpus et sanguinem... credentes unitatem beatæ Trinitatis. Oramus ut semper nobis fide plenius esurire detur ac sitire iustitiam, sicque opus ejus, confortati salutaris escæ gratia, faciamus, ut non in iudicium, sed in remedium, sacramentum quod accepimus, habeamus. Per Dominum nostrum.

COLLECT AT THE END OF MASS.

O Lord Christ, who willest that the faithful should feed on Thy Body, and be made Thy Body, grant that what we have taken may be for the remission of our sins; and that the Divine nourishment given by Thy blessing, may so be mingled with our soul, that the Flesh being subject unto the spirit, and brought into peaceful agreement, may be obedient, and not contend, through the Holy Spirit, who liveth and reigneth, in the unity of the Father and the Son, coeternal, for ever and ever. Amen.

COLLECTIO IN FINE MISSÆ.

Christe Domine, qui et tuos vesci corpore, et tuum corpus effici vis Fideles, fac nobis in remissionem peccatorum esse quod sumpsimus: atque ita se animæ nostræ divina alimonia per benedictionem tuam facta permisceat, ut caro spiritui subdita, et in consensum pacificum subjugata obtemperet, non repugnet, per Spiritum Sanctum qui in unitate Patris et Filii, coæternus vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

The solemnities for the Festival of St. German are described, according to Bona, in the Mozarabic Missal. A sermon preached by Hericus on that day, whether the 1st of October or the 31st of July, is still preserved. He there compares German to Elijah, especially in the matter of abstinence. Elijah however, he observes, was

fed by ravens, but St. German usually eat only once a week, and then barley bread alone. He shows how he was a Doctor of the whole world, and had obtained a rank among the chief members of Christ's body ; and how his great holiness procured him distinction in every country. He claims him especially for Gaul as her Apostle ; and ends his sermon by a prayer addressed to St. German. This latter practice he had justified in a special work on the miracles of St. German.¹ He there blames those who say that the souls of the Saints are in Abraham's bosom, or in a place of refreshment, or under the Altar of God, and not able to be present at their tombs and wheresoever they please. He appeals to St. Jerome's language against Vigilantius. The Saints, he says, follow the Lamb wherever He goeth, therefore they may be any where. As they enjoy the presence of God, who knoweth all things, they themselves know every thing in nature, but they are especially present at their earthly remains. (It may here be remarked that St. Thomas Aquinas restricts their knowledge to what is going on in the earth.) And by way of proving his belief in this respect, he describes himself as falling down before the sepulchre, kissing the sacred stone, and humbly venerating his patron as if he were suspended over his head, and ever worshipping with fidelity the place where his feet had stood. In short, he bids men honour St. German and the rest of the Saints with pious devotion, and implore them with earnest affection.

St. German, we have seen, was buried in the chapel of St. Maurice. In process of time Queen Clothilde, the wife of Clovis, who was married in 493, and died in

¹ § 124. ch. iii.

543, built a large Basilica over the tomb of the Bishop.¹ On which occasion St. Lupus, different from St. Lupus of Troyes, came with her from Burgundy to Auxerre ; and was subsequently buried there himself. Her eldest son, Clothaire, afterwards employed St. Desiderius, then Bishop of Auxerre, to build a beautiful *Freda* over St. German's remains, that is, a little covered chapel such as we see in Cathedrals now. It was adorned with silver and gold, and bore the inscription of the royal builder. Ingundis, his wife, presented valuable vessels and vestments, especially a golden cup studded with precious stones, and bearing the name of the Queen. This spot soon became famous for its miracles, according to Hericus.² Old men in his time asserted they had seen numberless cures performed on the sick, the possessed, the deaf and the dumb. The testimony of St. Nicetius in his letter to Queen Chlodosunda, in 565, has already been given.³ St. Gregory of Tours relates, that in the time of Queen Teudechild, Nonninus, a tribune, having come from Auvergne to Auxerre for religious motives, struck off a small piece of the stone from the tomb of St. German, whereupon he immediately became as stiff as brass.⁴ Having considered the guilt of his presumption, he made a vow to consecrate the relic in a Church he intended to erect in honour of St. German in Auvergne. And after having made the vow, was released at once from the punishment. "Into this same Church which Nonninus erected at Mozac, in Auvergne," continues Gregory, "I myself went, in company with my uncle Avitus,

¹ Heric. Ch. iv. de Mir. § 39. Beaunier Abbayes de France, tom. ii. p. 840. Gallia Christ.

² § 40.

³ See Introd. ⁴ Ch. 41, Gloria Confessorum.

Bishop of Auvergne, and on our entering a smell of roses and lilies exhaled from the place, which we attributed to the merits of the blessed German."

It would be long and tedious to enumerate the very many miracles which Hericus, who wrote in the ninth century, represents to have taken place either at Auxerre, or in other places where St. German was particularly honoured. The following is selected, from many much more astonishing in their character and effects, chiefly because the narrator was witness to it himself. On the 31st of July,¹ he says, when Soissons and all its Churches and monasteries were resounding with the praises of the Saint, he, (Hericus) proceeded with some others to one of the Churches dedicated to St. German. Before his arrival the bell began to ring of itself, and only ceased when he had entered. There was no vestige of any one, since all had previously departed from the Church ; and he himself considered the ringing as miraculous ; but however lest his testimony should be deemed partial, he made no mention of it himself, but let his companions spread the account. For the same reasons it would be unfair in a historical point of view to omit another miracle for which Hericus gives good testimony. In the year 869,² Adalricus of Sens, who had been afflicted with an infirmity and contraction of the limbs for twelve years, and had visited the tombs of many other Saints in vain, came to Auxerre for the festival of the first of October. A large multitude were assembled from all quarters. Already half of the vigil had elapsed, and the Psalm, "*Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion*,"³ was being sung in the Church, when suddenly the voice of Adalricus filled the place and

¹ § 67.² § 104.³ Psalm lxiv. or lxv.

frightened the people and the choir, who were chaunting the divine office. The people rushed towards him and found him senseless ; after a short space of time he recovered, and regained his perfect strength, and was alive in Hericus's time to confirm the account of his cure.

In 859, took place the translation of St. German's remains from the chapel of St. Maurice, and the Basilica, which Queen Clothilde had erected, to a more splendid edifice. The circumstances of it were these.¹ Conrad, or Chuonradus, was brother of Judith of Bavaria, the second wife of Louis-le-Débonnaire, and consequently was uncle to Charles-le-Chauve. He had married Adelais, the daughter of Louis-le-Débonnaire. Both were eminent for their piety. Conrad was, together with his other princely dignities, Commendatory Abbot of St. German's monastery at Auxerre. It was the sad custom of the age for powerful men to plunder Ecclesiastical property, but there were some great exceptions.² Among these was Conrad. He had long been subject to a disease of the eye, which defied the art of medicine,³ and he was about to undergo a caustic application, when having risen once before sunrise, he approached the sepulchre of St. German, where the monks were observing their vigil. The tomb happened to be covered with herbs ; he applied some of them to his eye, and immediately recovered the use of it. As a present token of his gratitude, he offered up some golden bracelets to the shrine ; but he contemplated greater proofs of it hereafter. He soon communicated to his wife his purpose of raising a more magnificent monument to St. German. Adelais eagerly entered into his

¹ Hericus, B. ii. Ch. i. § 84. ² § 85. ³ § 86.

views, and went to visit the actual monastery.¹ A favourable piece of ground was found, on the eastern side of the town, where the hill presents a gentle declivity, supposed to be well suited to an edifice. The most experienced architects were engaged, and a model of wax was first made ; which being approved, the greatest ardour was evinced in order to realize it. Some of the monks were sent to Arles and Marseilles, to obtain the materials of the fine ruins which remained there. The spoils of paganism were thus destined to adorn a Christian monument. Having effected their object, they laid the precious charge on barges and sailed up the Rhone. As they journeyed, a violent storm came upon them, and they were obliged to land at a spot where they found a Church dedicated to St. German, and famous for the security which it was said to spread over the country. After they had prayed there for some time, they returned, and found the storm abated ; they again embarked, and at last arrived safe at Auxerre. The columns and other materials and ornaments which they had brought, proved to be all in character and in proportion with the building, a circumstance considered miraculous by Hericus. One of the columns, being placed upon its basis, was elevated by a number of hands ; but all their efforts were unable to give it a right balance ; and it was in the very act of falling, and all had withdrawn to avoid the danger, when suddenly it rose again and placed itself without help in its right position.

It appears Conrad did not live to see the remains of St. German translated to the new building. In 859, Lewis of Germany, the brother of Charles-le-Chauve, taking advantage of a faction in France, made

¹ § 89.

war upon Charles, in spite of the league which had been made at Verdun, in 843, respecting the division of Charlemagne's Empire between his three grandsons, Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles. Charles-le-Chauve, conscious of the inequality of his forces, resolved to seek aid from God ; and as he was on his way to meet the army of his brother, he passed by Auxerre. It was the day of the Epiphany, when accompanied by Bishops and Priests alone, he approached the tomb of St. German, and had it opened. The corpse appeared in perfect preservation. Charles having performed his devotions, the Bishops were enjoined to cover the body with costly garments, and pour balm and incense over it. After which the translation took place to the Edifice raised by Conrad. Proceeding thence, the king obtained a complete victory over his brother without loss of blood, and henceforth reigned in peace. Miracles were performed during this translation. A young man, who was a cripple, obtained his recovery while in the act of praying in the Church in the presence of the whole people, and we may add in that of Hericus himself, our authority, since he was monk of St. German's at that time. Another on the same occasion regained the use of his speech. From this time, the sixth of January, besides the solemnities of the Epiphany, was celebrated with an express commemoration of St. German's translation ; to which purpose the Martyrology of Auxerre for that day has the following notice : "At Auxerre the translation of the body of St. German the Bishop from the sepulchre to the new crypt, was performed by the Bishop of Auxerre, Abbo, in the presence and at the request of Charles-le-Chauve, king of the French." It appears then that the edifice which Conrad built was annexed to the original Chapel of St. Maurice, and

to the Monastery of St. German¹ (not the same as that which he in his life had founded,) and that the translation was but a short distance. This Monastery would therefore have been a large enclosure with several edifices contained in it, as we see in the vestiges of some old and famous Abbays.

Within the precincts there were many places of worship,² and as many altars in honour of Saints. For the remains of many other Saints were soon conveyed to this sacred spot. Those of St. Urban and Tiburtius were brought from Rome in 862, as a gift of Pope Nicolas the First.³ There were also the relics of the Saintly Bishops who had governed the Church of Auxerre, among whom were St. Peregrinus, the first Bishop, and his successors.⁴ On the right hand were St. Urban and St. Innocent. Next to them St. Alodius, the successor of St. German, St. Ursus, St. Romanus, St. Theodosius, Bishops of Auxerre. Near the Pedum (or Crosier) to the east, beside the altar, was St. Aunarius, Bishop of Auxerre. To the left was St. Tiburtius, sent from Rome, with five Bishops, Fraternus, Censurius, the friend of Constantius the writer, Gregorius, Desiderius, and Lupus, the latter of whom had come from Burgundy, as we have seen, in company with Clothilde, the wife of Clovis. Together with these were St. Moderatus, a boy, St. Optatus, Bishop, and two priests, St. Sanctinus and St. Memorius.⁵ In process of time, many other sacred remains were there deposited, among which were those of a Pope. Lothaire, the son of Charles-le-Chauve, on his death-bed gave orders that a light might be always kept burning before the shrine.

¹ Bosch. Com.

² *Orationum loca*, § 123. Heric. ³ § 108. ⁴ § 117.

⁵ See Beaunier, *Abbayes de France*. Bosch. Com.

When the Normans in the ninth century made a violent irruption, the remains of St. German were carefully buried, according to Nevelo, a contemporary author, and remained thus till the beginning of the tenth century. Such was the reverence in which they continued to be held, that when Robert, king of France, in the succeeding age called a council at Auxerre, and the relics of other Saints according to custom were brought to it, Hugo, the Bishop, refused to send those of St. German, urging that they were too valuable. In great calamities however they were carried about. In the time of William the Conqueror, one of the fingers was amputated by a monk of Auxerre, and carried into England, where it became the occasion of the foundation of the celebrated Monastery of St. German, at Selby in Yorkshire, the noble abbey of which still exists. The circumstances of it are curious as illustrating the origin of a monastic establishment, but are too numerous for the present purpose. In 1375, John, Duke of Berry, assigned a yearly sum of gold for the preservation of the coffin. At last in 1567, on the 27th of September, the Huguenots took Auxerre. All are agreed that the remains of St. German on this fatal occasion were violated, but the manner is not quite certain. Le Beuf, a canon of Paris, in his history of the Sacrilege, says that the Huguenots on entering sent immediately a detachment to the monastery of St. German, before the monks had time to carry any thing away ; and that the whole wealth of this opulent establishment fell into their hands. St. German's tomb, with six others, he adds, was broken up, and the sacred remains torn from their receptacles and trampled upon. In this confusion it does not appear what was rescued ; but the prevalent opinion at

Auxerre in 1663, when Viola, the Prior of that institution, wrote his life of St. German, was, that the Huguenots themselves under Divine impulse restored the relics. Other accounts more or less probable were current. But it is pretty certain that when the Bollandists published their Acts of St. German, there were still existing at Auxerre a piece of the silk dress with the imperial arms which Placidia had given ; a bone of one of the fingers ; the sepulchre of stone ; the ashes of the Saint ; and the fragments of the cypress coffin, the gift of the same Empress. These were probably concealed from the Huguenots under earth. They were officially declared to be the relics of St. German by Séguier the Bishop, and are said to have effected miracles.

At Paris in the Church St. Germain l'Auxerrois, famous for its historical connexions, there was before the Revolution a bone in a silver case belonging to the Saint. At Verdun, Miége, and Montfaucon, there were likewise some bones ; at Evreux a part of the skull ; at Chessy some of the ribs. Pope Urban V., once abbot of St. German's, obtained a bone. The following places, Lembrun, St. Julien d'Auxerre, St. Remi at Reims, St. Pierre at Corbi, St. Pierre in Champagne, Rennes, St. Stephen at Auxerre, Cahors, Coutances, Gron near Sens, Metz, Nancy, Bayeux, Caen, Cluni, Cologne, and a place on the banks of the Meuse, called Rutilensis Carthusia, in the Latin—all produced claims of a similar kind. Whether any relics in France have been preserved from the revolutionary profanations, is still to be learnt. Whether any survive the Reformation and the Rebellion in England, at St. Albans, St. Germans in Cornwall, or Selby in Yorkshire, need hardly be enquired.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Conclusion.

READERS are now very capricious people. In many cases, they will not let the writer suggest a moral observation upon the facts he has related to them ; they are disgusted if he do, and say it is unreal, or it is common-place, or it is tedious, and the like. And yet, in many others, they are very glad to find that the author agrees with them ; and it greatly tends to recommend a book, if one be so fortunate as to touch upon the right string ; and a sentiment or an opinion here and there, which approves itself, will make many a dull book pass off for good. In the middle ages, writers would altogether have discarded these and similar niceties, and said just as much as they themselves thought right, neither more nor less. But at present, the matter is very different. There are plenty of persons who read, but few who read what does not please them, and moral and general reflections usually come under this category. In the middle ages again, authors were as different as readers. Writing was a kind of sacred employment. Those who wrote books were acknowledged by all to be deeply conversant with their subject. Now, men write in order to become conversant with it. Of course, persons who are considered fit to make books, are generally those who, besides acquaintance with a subject, have natural capacities for the task. Yet this was not a necessary or invariable consequence in the middle ages. His-

tories, for instance, were written by men who had been present at the facts related. It was a secondary consideration whether they were fit persons to judge of facts. Or again, they were written by men who were known to be familiar with the tradition or the inheritance of facts, which passed on religiously from one generation to another. It did not follow, as a matter of course, that they were good critics, or had imagination enough to understand past ages ; although, in reality, they did, in the majority of cases, possess these endowments. From this cause, in a great measure, seems to have arisen that profound respect in which books were held. We hear of even secular books, ornamented in the most costly style, with shining clasps, to keep out the dust, and appropriate desks, to expose them to the view of all. Writing, as was before said, was a sacred avocation. It was the privilege of the Religious in their holy seclusion : " Read, write, and sing," says the author of the Imitation. It was sanctified by the devout exercises of the monks, and guarded from profane novelties by the attentive vigilance of the Superior. Natural abilities came into play here as elsewhere, but they were directed and applied wisely. Guibert de Nogent, in the eleventh century, is an instance of this. He was by nature very quick, and ready at writing verses. When the Superior of his Monastery perceived his turn of mind, he bid him be on his guard against a bad use of his talents. Guibert was then obliged to write in secret, for he felt he did not apply them to the honour of God ; and subsequently, this gave him violent pangs of conscience, and brought from him a most humble confession of guilt. Yet his abilities were not allowed to remain dormant. At a fit time, he was appointed by

his Abbot to compose a theological work, for the instruction and edification of Christians.¹ Other occasions also there were of writing. Men came back from the Crusades : they were the proper persons to write about the Crusades. Or again, others had been the intimate friends of great men : these were the best qualified to compose their Life, and make known their private sayings. At present, subjects of this kind are put into the hands of a good editor. But then, it was the wise statesman and minister, who had been at all the privy councils of his sovereign ; or it was the bosom friend of a Saint, who knew his inward life. It mattered little whether he was an ingenious, clever thinker, and could illustrate a plausible theory or a favourite principle. His work was precious from the circumstances of its composition. Contrary to the rule of Aristotle, it was the morality or qualifications of the writer, not of the composition, which constituted its claims to the regard of the public. Men were far too matter-of-fact and simple-minded to take up the tests and canons of literary etiquette.

However, notwithstanding such great disadvantages, arising from the present disposition of both writers and readers, (be content, gentle reader, to bear part of the blame) something like an attempt shall be hazarded, at giving a practical turn to the variety of materials which have come before us in St. German's Life. And to avoid further preliminaries.

I. What are we to think of St. Mamertinus's wonderful story, as related in the eighth Chapter ? That he was a Pagan, and lost the use of his sight and hand, and was induced by one Sabinus to go to Auxerre, to

¹ Vid. Vita Guib. Noving. b. i. chap. xvii.—[?]

seek for St. German, and came at night into the Mons Autricus, the Cemetery, and there fell asleep on the tomb and in the cell of a departed Saint—this is plain enough and indisputable. But what was that which followed? Was it a real thing, or was it a vision? And here the subject becomes serious, and we must “put off our shoes from our feet, for the place where we stand is holy ground.” For what, indeed, do we mean, when we draw a distinction between realities and visions? Is it untrue to say that everything is real, that everything is the action of Almighty God upon His creation, and especially upon His spiritual creation, if such distinction may be made? God works by instruments, or what we view as instruments; He makes the things of the external world, objects, times, circumstances, events, associations, to impress the action of His Will upon men. The bad and the good receive the same impressions, but their judgment concerning them differs. The moral sight of the one is vitiated, that of the others indefinitely pure. If, then, the only real thing to us be the communication of the Divine Mind to our mind, is there room to enquire whether the occasion or medium of that communication is real? At least, it would appear that St. Mamertinus considered the enquiry superfluous. The very obscurity which impends over his narrative, and which has purposely been preserved in this Life, may, for aught we know, be owing to the impossibility of drawing any material distinctions between what are called real events and visions or dreams. For it must be remembered that Constantius introduces the very language of St. Mamertinus into his Life of St. German. It was a book which apparently had but recently come out, in which St. Mamertinus published to the world the his-

tory of his own mysterious conversion. And Constantius seems to have a scruple in taking any liberties with it, and consequently inserts it, as it was, into his own work. Now it is certainly remarkable that the subject himself of so wonderful an occurrence, should hesitate whether he ought to call it a reality or a vision, sometimes adapting his phraseology to the one aspect of the matter, sometimes to the other. Yet what is this but what had four hundred years before been exemplified and sanctioned by Inspiration itself? In the history of Cornelius's conversion, himself a Gentile, the same ambiguity is apparent. In the very beginning, how singular, if we may so speak, the words, "He saw a vision *evidently*." Here, however, the apparition of the angel is clearly called a vision. Yet, when the messengers of Cornelius came to St. Peter, they said nothing about a vision, but "Cornelius, the centurion, was warned from God by an holy angel." Nay, Cornelius himself, when Peter came to him, spoke as if it had been no vision. "Four days ago, I was fasting until this hour; and at the ninth hour I prayed in my house, and *behold a man stood before me and said*." Was this not, at once, both a vision and a reality? Could God's purposes be more distinctly revealed? In like manner, the whole of what happened to Mamertinus had but one end, one object, the imparting of Almighty God's gracious mercies to a lost and sinful creature. Life itself is as much a vision as any thing in sleep; it is the moving to and fro of ever flitting images; there is one, and one only, substantial fact in life, the existence of created beings in the presence of their Omnipotent Maker. And such, apparently, was the ultimate aspect in which St. Mamertinus came to view his conversion, ever less complex,

more simple, more one, as he advanced in holiness, "without which no man will see the Lord." He most probably lived till 468, about fifteen years before Constantius began to write his Life, and would therefore be at that time an old man, one who had fought the good fight. For he was a young man when St. German was above forty, and apparently outlived him as long as twenty years, having become Abbot of the Monastery only at a late period. But so it is ; Almighty God has never been seen, and yet is always seen. Every thing around us is a symbol of His presence. Does not the sublime author of the City of God speak after this wise ? "Be not surprised," he says, "if God, though He be invisible, is said to have appeared *visibly* to the Fathers. For as the sound which conveys the thought that dwells in the silence of the mind, is not one and the same thing with it, so that form in which God is seen, who yet dwells in the invisible, was not one with Him. Nevertheless, He was visible in this same bodily form, just as thought is audible in the sound of the voice ; and the Fathers knew that *they saw an invisible God* in that bodily form, which yet was not He. For Moses spake unto Him who also spake, and yet he said unto Him, 'If I have found grace in Thy sight, show me now Thyself, that I may see Thee with knowledge.'"¹

To conform, however, to the ordinary modes of speech, (and we cannot but do so as long as things appear multiple, instead of simple) it is conceived that what occurred while St. Mamertinus was in the cell of St. Corcodemus, was what we call a vision. St. Florentinus in white and shining garments, at the entrance

¹ Exod. xxxiii. 13. Lib. x. ch. 13. Civ. Dei.

of the cell ; St. Corcodemus issuing from the tomb and joining his ancient companions ; the beautiful dialogue concerning the penitent Pagan ; the five holy Bishops celebrating their Votive Mass in the Church ; the discourse between the Apostle St. Peregrine and Mamertinus ; and the subsequent antiphonal strains issuing from the Church,—all was part of the vision. But the vision was so clear ; its effects and fulfilment were so complete, that it had nothing, as it were, to distinguish it from a real event, except that it occurred in sleep. Dreams and visions have ever held a prominent part in God's marvellous dispensations. The form is a dream, the substance a reality. We cannot bear the reality without the form. "Now we see through a glass darkly ; but then face to face ; now I know in part ; but then shall I know even as I am known."¹ A notion attaches to dreams and visions which we think we can cast off ; they do not hang by us with the vividness of real events. They have a meaning ; yet they admit of being otherwise viewed. This is our infirmity, but it is wisely ordained, for we are men.

St. Mamertinus affords a striking fulfilment of the prophecy ; "In the last days, saith God, I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams"² In proportion then, as the clearness with which God communicates with His creatures diminishes, may we not infer that there is on their part a corresponding withdrawing from His presence ? When the phenomena of the external world usurp more and more of the faith and confidence of men, and are no longer

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

² Acts ii. 17.

viewed as mere instruments and media, but rather as self-existing substances, is this not a sign that men are daily retiring further from the influence of that Blessed Spirit which was poured upon all flesh ? On the other hand, what an unearthly character must have been stamped upon the life of St. Mamertinus ! To have been brought into the presence of the unseen world, what a range of heavenly recollections, what a sacramental glow over his whole future life ! But let us proceed.

II. No one will say that St. German was not a holy man of the highest order. It demands no proof but the mere narrative of facts. There is not a circumstance of his life, since his conversion, which requires explanation or apology (unless it be the Deposition of Chelidonius, his connexion with which is extremely obscure and uncertain). The question is rather, how did he become thus holy, thus great, and in so short a time ? How is it that the sanctity of so many ancient Saints was so easy, natural, even, uniform, marked, unflinching, unmingled, resolute ? We think we are reading of angels ; where is the man ? In the case of St. German, we have before had occasion to remark, that a progression at least, in gifts, powers, and confidence, is apparent ; that a change, by no means indefinite, seems to have taken place after the lapse of twelve years, and the completion of his Apostolic work. But the mystery remains nearly the same. How, from the beginning, did he live, as we read he did ? Men of old had like passions with ourselves, we cannot doubt it ; how then did they become suddenly Saints ? We hear, indeed, of groans of penitence, and fasts and vigils and prayers ; but how do these also come all at once ? To those who would be Saints now, not only everything without is opposed, but their very

selves are at war with them ; and not the least feature of this opposition, is the ignorance and confusion which they have concerning the whole matter of saintliness and the righteousness required of the Gospel. But in ancient times, the old man seems to have been put off like a garment, altogether, and without remnant ; the new man, like a bright robe without a patch, without a stain, taken up in its place. Surely history must be false here, if anywhere ; or rather, partial and incomplete. It may be good for us that it should be so, as an exercise of our faith. But it is also right that meditation should try to recover the lost side of the picture ; and its recoveries may be brought out to the view of others, not as superseding the same exercise of faith in them, (for no subsequent labours, bestowed upon a distant period, can supply the evidence which contemporary testimony has denied,) but as affording materials for their reflections, and testing the spirituality of their discernment. History then, the biographies of Saints included, is a structure that has been built up according to rules of its own, and these rules have ever been imperfect. Effect, so to say, and appearance, have been its leading principles, principles not necessarily erroneous ; nay, in the common run, the guide of life and the foundation of society. But principles which are guides for men may be indefinitely imperfect, because men are imperfect ; and in the training for the life of angels, we require something more than their defective canon, an ever nearer approach to those laws which are to be our guide in that heavenly society which we hope to join. Now history has had the same yearnings, the same ideal ; but history has applied it to this world, which can never be what heaven is. Repose is the ideal of beauty. Ac-

cordingly, history has invested the Saints on earth with all the attributes of repose ; and as qualities in themselves are one thing and not another, white is white, black is black, the Church militant has been represented in the same uniform character of repose with the Church triumphant, from beginning to end. It has been thought that the pure white could not come out itself from the antecedent admixture of discordant colours, it could be no abstraction, no extract from opposite natures, it must have been ever there whole and perfect, or nowhere at all. In this manner, many, very many, of the old Saints, stand out like beautiful statues, serene, unruffled, sublime, ethereal, unearthly ; and such they were in truth, but not this alone. The character of St. German subsequent to his conversion, is an example of these historical types, one of those radiant faultless pictures which line the long galleries of the vestibule of heaven, the Church on earth.

Now that there is another side of the picture, and that it is not without its profit to beholders, seems to be shown by those instances where Saints have been the relaters of their own lives. Doubtless, Possidius' *Life of St. Augustine* does not read like St. Augustine's own *Confessions*. The value then of this last work is this, that it discloses the probation of the Saint. We have in the case of St. German all that was external, all that was intended to carry on the type of sanctity from generation to generation, but we must look beyond testimony for the history of his probation, or his struggle with "the rulers of the darkness of this world." On the other hand, in the *Confessions*, we seem to discover all the wonderful threads which go to make up the tissue of the Saints' white robe, we find

some going one way, some another, some again crossing each other, and yet all kept together by the broad hem which encircles them, and in the end making up in discordant ways the one spotless garment. Some light may perhaps be thrown upon St. German's inward life by comparing it with this marvellous book. But first let us ascertain somewhat more clearly the ground on which we are to stand.

It is fully admitted that there is something evidently extraordinary and miraculous in St. German's conversion and subsequent life. But this alone does not seem a sufficient account of the matter. All grace is extraordinary and miraculous, and yet we may still enquire about the *how* or the way on the part of man. Man is a free agent, though the measures of God's grace may vary ever so much. Through grace, doubtless, St. German reached those heights of holiness which we view with awe and wonder ; but grace is given to perform a work, and where is this work ? grace is given to conquer nature, where is the conquest ? This is all that is asked. Effects require predisposing causes. Allow for argument sake that one and all follow by unavoidable necessity, yet the history of them remains the same ; if we read of the one, we may enquire about the other. Nor is there any thing to show that the notion of miracles implies the exclusion of other causes and means ; for though as regards the irrational world, it might not appear absurd to suppose an effect produced without any other cause but the miracle itself ; yet in the case of rational and responsible beings to suppose the end for which their reason and responsibility were given, to be attained without the means of these, involves an obvious inconsistency. And here Butler has a far-searching saying which seems to suit the present pur-

pose. "Nor do we know," he says, "how far it is possible in the nature of things, that effects should be wrought in us at once, equivalent to habits, i. e. what is wrought by use and exercise."¹ The possession of moral habits, under which denomination Christian virtues and holiness are to be placed, however connected with and dependent upon the miracle of God's grace, is yet not like the possession of those miraculous gifts which were bestowed in the beginning of Christianity, of which men had the power of making a bad or a good use, as they chose. Holiness is a habit and an act. A habit or an act is not a faculty or a power. It is in the nature of the latter to be applied to contraries, but the other is one energy definite and exclusive. For indeed holiness is in energy, not in virtue ; or if in some sense it may be said to be virtual, it is so in one way, not in contrary ways ; that is, in leading on to further holiness, or, as the Psalmist says, going on from strength to strength. Holiness cannot therefore be a gift of God independent of man's exertions and consent ; if it be an energy of man, it must work through him and with him, for it is an effect, not an instrument ; and the very essence of it is that it is an effect of human agency. And here again we may compare another passage of the same writer, though applied by him to another subject. "It appears from Scripture," he says, "that as it was not unusual for persons, upon their conversion to Christianity, to be endued with miraculous gifts ; so some of those persons exercised these gifts in a strangely irregular and disorderly manner (which could not be said with regard to holiness or other habits).....Consider a person endued with any of

¹ Anal. p. 87.

these gifts ; for instance that of tongues : it is to be supposed that he had the same power over this miraculous gift, as he would have had over it, had it been the effect of habit, of study and use, as it ordinarily is (and here the effect of habit will not be confounded with the habit itself, the effect of habit being viewed as an instrument merely ;) or the same power over it, as he had over any other natural endowment. Consequently he would use it in the same manner he did any other, either regularly and upon proper occasions only, or irregularly and upon improper ones ; according to his sense of decency and his character of prudence.”¹ It may be added that holiness in the beginning was indeed, though not properly a faculty or instrument, an endowment like any other ; but man having fallen, a distinction naturally arose between what came from God alone, and what man contributed, for man was no longer the creature of God as it came out of His hands ; something foreign to God, if one may so speak, a negative nature had attached itself to his original nature ; there was henceforth a self, a will, a spontaneity ; holiness was now to be a recovery and an act, not a mere gift or a necessary condition.

If the case stand thus, let us endeavour to apply it to St. German. The first thing that astonishes us in his conversion, is that he was taken by surprise. He has been irritated by the bold conduct of Bishop Amator, he proceeds to Auxerre to take vengeance upon him, he learns that he has set off to Autun, he awaits his return, he hears him resign his Episcopal Office, he is perhaps not over-sorry, he goes to see the end of the matter in Church, and join in the general election of a

¹ Anal. p. 182.

successor. Suddenly he is surrounded with priests, stripped of his secular robes, clad in a clerical dress, deprived of his hair, and nominated to the Bishopric of Auxerre. Now we will not stop to enquire whether this violent behaviour of St. German involved a habitual contempt of religion, though we may rather infer the contrary ; we will not make conjectures about the influence, which the vicinity of holiness, a virtuous education, the high outward estimation in which religion was held, a character naturally aspiring and elevated, and the effects of a diffused literature pregnant with Christian verities and solemn warnings, may have had upon the mind of the Duke and Governor of the Armorican and Nervican Provinces ; although we might make many inductions from the habits of thoughtfulness and the sense of responsibility which an office so full of high and accountable functions was calculated to produce, the enforcement of duty and discipline on others, the necessity of example in self, the probability that an exalted statesman is on the whole upright and religious when no impeachment against his character in these respects is on record ;—all this we must leave as we find it. Certain it is, that the immediate preliminaries of his ordination and nomination were any thing but adequate to the character we afterwards find him sustaining, and that there was an evident abruptness and harshness in this remarkable transition of his life. But two months elapsed before he was consecrated Bishop of Auxerre ; and it is expressly declared, that during that time he used every endeavour and means in his power to escape from the new charge that was imposed upon him. Is there not here some clue to that inward struggle which forms the secret history of Saints ? Is there not here a shadow of that

side of the picture of the Saint which we were seeking ? Let us dwell on these two months. The internal struggle must have lasted through life (for it did so in St. Anthony), but it is something gained, to get an insight into these two months.

What are two months ? Fifty-six or sixty days. But sixteen or twenty days may well have been filled up with the business and tumult of Election, the resignation of a civil appointment (a letter to Autun or Arles might well have been answered in a week or ten days), the preparations for Consecration, and the reception of the three Bishops who were to consecrate him. Forty days remain, and forty days previous to a ministry ! This seems to open a new view of the subject. Time is a mysterious thing, concerning which we have but very dim conceptions. Some have thought it to be the mere indispensable mode in which all our thoughts are conceived. At least, that it is measured by the succession of our ideas, seems clear enough. And if so, there is nothing to prevent a year being compressed into an hour. The year of one rational being, may be the hour of another ; nay, a year may, to the same individual, be less than an hour under different circumstances. It is almost proverbial, that every year the years seem to roll round faster ; which so happens, not perhaps because the younger we are the more ideas we have, whereby the year seems to be more full of incidents ; but rather the contrary, because the relations of ideas which are presented to the mind as it grows older, become so numerous, that they successively drive each other away, and a less definite impression, on the whole, is left, than when we were young, and ideas, from being few, were more indelible. How much may pass in the mind during forty days ! What

various and countless thoughts may have arisen in the seclusion of one Lent ! How the memory has at times been so vividly awakened as to partake of the nature of actual representation ! How the future has been measured out by anticipation, with almost prophetic reality ! How the multiplicity of things has wonderfully been conjured up before the sight of the mind by a glimpse of the one, the primary form of all things, the Law of the Divine Wisdom and Knowledge, Unity ! But forty days have a still more sacred association. It was the period of our Divine Master's Temptation—shall we say Probation ? Yes, for though He could not sin, yet He took upon Him our flesh, to endure the like trials with us, though ever without guilt.¹ And, if the thought may be expressed with the deepest awe and reverence, what a range of things were within that short space presented to Him in the form of Temptations ! The world itself came before His eyes, all its glories, its proud kings, its opulent cities, its conquering armies, its ambitious fleets, its philosophers and their systems ! And behold here the three great trials to which human nature is subject at once brought together, the desires of the flesh, the ambition of the mind, the pride of the heart ; the first, when bread was the occasion ; the second, when the world was the end ; the last, when self was the centre : “ If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down.” It might be profane to introduce such a subject as this, were He not the example of all Saints, and were it possible to speak of holiness and supernatural gifts without instancing Him. Nay, the more

¹ “ Ut esset in similitudine carnis peccati pœna sine culpâ.”
—Aug. De Peccatorum Meritis. Lib. i. 60 §.

holy men have been, (and no doubt St. German yielded to none in this respect) the more reason we have for presuming that they were brought within the like vicinity of Satan's devices. The more grace abounded in St. German, the more sure we may be that he began not his ministry without contending with the powers of darkness. It was immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost on the baptized Son of man, that He was led away into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil. Now we are expressly told, that after St. German's wonderful ordination, it was with great difficulty he could bring himself to accept the charge of Bishop, to which he was elected.¹ Nothing, as it appears, but absolute force made him consent at last to be consecrated ; the people, the clergy, the nobility, all were against him. What then must have passed in his mind during the suspense ! Let us consider what it requires to make up our minds to be faithful servants of God. Some, indeed, take a rapid glance of the capabilities of the future ; others are slow in imagining the difficulties they will have to encounter. Some, by a marvellous penetration (and this was one of St. German's gifts) see at once the course they will have to pursue ; others have enough to do to prepare for immediate struggles. But for all there are countless things in prospect to meet, there are as many in the retrospect to forego and to undo ; and men will sleep rather for sorrow, before they come fully to realize the scene before them. We are not, however, quite at a loss for historical information, to conceive what might be the struggles of Saints even after conversion. St. Augustine's Confessions, as was

¹ See ch. v.

before observed, will ever be a record to show how much may be renounced, how much may be attained, through God's grace. He had said in another work, when charged with his previous life by enemies, "I do toil much in my thoughts, struggling against my evil suggestions, and having lasting and almost continual conflict with the temptations of the enemy, who would subvert me. I groan to God in my infirmity ; and He knoweth what my heart laboureth with."¹ And, indeed, never can it be said that a previous life goes for nothing, though it be ever so changed afterwards. The evil effects of bad customs still remain ; and worldliness of mind, which it seems may be imputed to St. German's former state, is not the least permanent. About the very time at which St. German became Bishop of Auxerre, St. Augustine was using the following language concerning himself ; "In this so vast wilderness, full of snares and dangers, behold many of them I have cut off, and thrust out of my heart, as Thou hast given me, O God of my salvation. And yet when dare I say, since so many things of this kind buzz on all sides about our daily life,—when dare I say that nothing of this sort engages my attention, or causes in me an idle interest ? True, the theatres do not now carry me away, nor care I to know the courses of the stars, nor did my soul ever consult ghosts departed ; all sacrilegious mysteries I detest.....Notwithstanding, in how many most petty and contemptible things is our curiosity daily tempted, and how often we give way, who can recount ? How often do we begin, as if we were tolerating people telling vain sto-

¹ Serm. 3, in Ps. 36, § 19. Apud Oxford Transl. of the Confessions, p. 223. Nota.

ries, lest we offend the weak ; then, by degrees, we take interest therein, &c.”¹ But St. German was to refrain even from things in themselves lawful. His wife Eustachia was now to become his sister.² How fitly might he again say with St. Augustine, “ Verily, Thou enjoimest me continency from the ‘ lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the ambition of the world.’ Thou enjoimest continency from concubinage ; and for wedlock itself, Thou hast counselled something better than what Thou hast permitted. And since Thou gavest it, it was done, even before I became a dispenser of Thy sacrament. But there yet live in my memory the images of such things, as my ill custom there fixed ; which haunt me strengthless when I am awake.”³ But more than this, there are pleasures innocent, and even elevating, which yet the Saint does not allow himself to enjoy. They seem to belong to higher natures than men have, and yet they are violently appropriated by the world, and they lose much of their real character by sinful and vain associations. But even then they seem to act as a soothing and efficacious remedy, like the essence which, though hidden in the admixture of useless ingredients, still reveals its valuable properties often unknown to the recipient. They tell to the unwary soul a tale of higher things ; they utter accents, and breathe combinations, unheard among the realities of life. They say not whence they come, yet when the distance has been measured, they are beside the strait gate, and beckon of former acquaintance. “ The delights of the ear,” might St. German say with St. Augustine, “ had firmly entangled and

¹ Confess. Oxf. Transl. p. 214, 215. ² See ch. vi. ³ p. 205.

subdued me ; but Thou didst loosen and free me. Now in those melodies which Thy words breathe soul into, when sung with a sweet and attuned voice, I do a little repose ; yet not so as to be held thereby, but that I can disengage myself when I will. But with the words which are their life, and whereby they find admission into me, themselves seek in my affections a place of some estimation, and I can scarcely assign them one suitable. For at one time I seem to myself to give them more honour than is seemly, feeling our minds to be more holily and fervently raised unto a flame of devotion, by the holy words themselves, when thus sung, than when not ; and that the several affections of our spirit, by a sweet variety, have their own proper measures in the voice and singing, by some hidden correspondence wherewith they are stirred up. But this contentment of the flesh, to which the soul must not be given over to be enervated, doth oft beguile me, the sense not so waiting upon reason, as patiently to follow her ; but having been admitted merely for her sake, it strives even to run before her, and leave her. Thus, in these things I unawares sin, but afterwards am aware of it.”¹

III. Language is so moulded upon the fashions and customs of the world, that it appears often awkward, and even profane, to introduce some of its expressions into serious subjects. Of this kind is the word *literary*, which, as the usage of the day directs, seems very inappropriate to hagiology ; and yet we are at a loss to find any equivalent term which may convey the idea intended, without doing injury to clearness and simplicity. However, as religious men

¹ p. 210.

have used such expressions as "Sacred Literature," on the highest of all subjects, the same liberty may perhaps here be excused, on a lower field of consideration. It should seem, then, that Saints may be divided into two classes ;—literary Saints, and Saints not literary. Under the latter St. German ought to be ranked. Saints are seldom illiterate, which is different from not being literary ; accession of knowledge is almost identical with growth in piety ; and whether it be derived through books, or oral instruction, or meditation, it is almost invariably in some degree connected with holiness. It is supposed that this fact is very evident throughout the middle ages. Nothing could sometimes exceed the ignorance of men of the world, kings, barons, knights, and the retinue of courts ; but monasteries, which then was a convertible term with abodes of religion, were very generally the seats of learning. The village which claimed the Abbot for its feudal suzerain was, doubtless, better instructed than that which lay at the foot of the baron's castle, nay, perhaps than the castle itself. These were two distinct currents passing along from generation to generation ; the one carrying down to posterity an accumulated treasure of knowledge, the other stranding an uncouth conglomeration of heterogeneous gatherings. Here were the Four Faculties of the human soul said to have been defined and explained, by Anselm, the Abbot of Bec,¹ Passion or Propension, Will, Reason, Intellect ; a Book of Sentences ; a Sum of Theology ; the Bible. There were duels, witchcraft, gambling, point of honour, patronage, game laws, primogeniture, investitures, vassallage, constitutions. Knowledge is a

¹ Vita Guiberti Noving. lib. i. ch. xvii.

toy with the world ; they take it up or they throw it down as they please. The world is sometimes very learned, nay, it sometimes tosses higher than religion, or at least the umpires say so. But knowledge is the habitual food of the godly ; it is healthy because, it is more equable ; it is digested all, because it is well proportioned to the want ; and the godly have none of those phrenzies which an intemperate feast of learning will produce. Still Saints need not be literary, any more than they need be noble by birth, which has sometimes been supposed of the Saints of certain ages. An occasional writing, called forth by particular circumstances, or documents composed in the course of study, merely to impress things on the memory, and to serve for the instruction of others, do not constitute a literary person. St. German apparently was thus situated. He was deeply learned, and was the teacher of great men. He may have written and been read. Yet he certainly was not a literary character. His merits are never in ancient records connected with this qualification. No one appealed to his writings, though many came to consult him in person. At present, there is a vague notion that writing is the great means of commanding respect, and claiming a title to wisdom and judgment. In the primitive ages, it seems men took a higher view of wisdom ; they did not confound, as we do, the faculty or the instrument, with the substance. It was not necessary for things to be explicitly striking, to be intrinsically valuable. A general tone, a habit, a consistency of speech and action, proclaimed the Christian wisdom, more than a power of analysis, a perception of analogies, and a command of rhetorical resources. Can we doubt that a St. Polycarp would deserve confidence where a Tertullian might be distrusted ? What

was that divine unction which filled the speech of the blind Saint at Tyre, while he quoted and applied the Holy Scriptures from memory, in the presence of the assembled multitude, and which so thrilled the heart of the historian, that he became eloquent in spite of himself? Surely this was something in itself higher and more authoritative than the mere talent of writing, though it has often been combined with it. But so it is; those on whom the choicest favours of God seem to be bestowed are often unskilled in the arts of composition, or even in the more general modes of communicating their thoughts. A superficial observer may pass by, and assume that diffidence is incapacity. But those that have been near, may have remarked a wonderful clear-sightedness, a facility in receiving knowledge, an elevation of thought, a power of distinguishing perversion from truth, an instinctive sense of the leaven of heresy, and a sympathetic discernment of what is orthodox, moral and holy, which have filled them with confusion at their own acute dulness and logical shallowness. They seemed to aim at nothing but God's will, and yet all came. They seemed too humble to seek to influence others, yet doubtless they did influence them already, and would hereafter be prepared for any exertion which it should please their Divine Master to order. Is it not these that really lead the better part of mankind? Are they not the true incense of the Church, while the more brilliant are but the showy censer which distributes their fragrance?

This is a consideration which applies in a special manner to St. German, and at the same time explains how, after his death, the particular character of his mind would have been forgotten or lost in a general renown for wisdom and sanctity, and amid

the more sensible and immediate tokens of his former life, as displayed by the miracles which survived him. For indeed writers have this privilege among many others, that they obtain a definite existence in the mind of posterity. There is a famous expression of Sidonius Apollinaris, which, as it may not be passed over in any life of St. German, furnishes also an apposite illustration of the foregoing remarks. St. Prosper of Orleans had requested him to celebrate the praises of St. Anian, who has been introduced to the reader in the preceding narrative. He writes back : “ You desire me to extol the glory of the blessed Anian, that most eminent and perfect bishop, *equal to Lupus, and not unequal to German* ; you wish that the minds of the faithful may be impressed with the practice, virtues, and gifts of so great a saint.....know then that I had begun to write.” It will be remarked that a kind of superiority due to St. German seems here to be implied ; since a Saint might be equal to St. Lupus, yet still unequal to St. German. But the passage is rather quoted for another purpose, namely, to indicate what might be considered the three types of a Saint in the fifth century in Gaul. And it is observable that none of these come under the denomination of literary men. There are indeed two letters of St. Lupus extant, which, beside many other proofs, evince his superior attainments. Yet neither he, nor St. Anian, nor St. German, owe their reputation to any written productions. Their merits had something of a sacramental nature, which begat awe and silent reverence, and perhaps it would have been almost a lowering of their exalted position, had they moved in the ranks of Saints and Authors. To understand which we have but to consider, how painful to serious minds is the literary light, so to say,

in which Paley, in his otherwise able work on St. Paul's Epistles, places the inspired writings of that Apostle. It is also conceivable that many may have been deterred from reading Lowth's Book on the Prophets, from the very object which it professes to aim at. And is it not a fact, that the higher we ascend in the contemplation of the different orders of intelligences, the less we expect as by instinct any of those symbols or modes of external influence, which we connect with associations of an inferior and more earthly character? The Apostles did write, yet we dare not call theirs writing in the ordinary sense. The Blessed Virgin on the other hand did not write; we think indeed we discover a passage or two of Holy Scripture dictated by her, and perceive her influence presiding over much more; yet she must needs have another as the medium of her thoughts. But further still, if we may reverently appeal higher, in the person of our divine Lord, so immeasurably above all that is man, though both Man and God, do we not think that it implies something derogatory to His nature, to attribute to Him the use of any such channel of communication? Is there not a silence and a mystery which encircles Him and those nearest to Him, incompatible with certain manifestations? And does not the famous letter to King Abgarus fail to commend itself in some respects from this very circumstance? One among many instances of this veil thrown over the Humanity of our blessed Lord, is the fact that no personal description has been left of Him, that depends upon any higher authority than vague and uncertain traditions. And then how little is known of those with whom this His Humanity was especially connected; His mother, St. Mary Magdalen, to whom He appeared first after the

Resurrection, St. John who lay on His breast ! We know a great deal more about St. Paul, than St. Peter ; St. Paul saw the Lord in visions, St. Peter face to face. And there was perhaps a propriety arising from this same cause, in that St. Peter's preserved Epistles are general, while those of St. Paul are also often private. Now if this be true, it is certainly remarkable that with an authentic and somewhat circumstantial account of St. German's life extant, yet there should be a similar mystery spread over his character. It has been already observed, that no definite description has been left by Constantius, either of his outward appearance or of his particular disposition and tone of mind ; nor has a single sentence of any writing of his come down to posterity ; nay, but very shortly after his death, it should seem nothing of the kind was forthcoming, though at the same time he was known to have possessed all the qualifications requisite. And what brings the parallel of his life with that of His divine Master still nearer, even the very facts of his career on earth were being obscured in the wonderful and miraculous consequences which followed upon his death ; so that he also needed one that had " perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto Christian people in order, that they might know the certainty of those things wherein they had been instructed."

If then we were to compare St. German with any Saints which had preceded him, we should not in a general aspect liken him to any of the Saints who sustained a literary fame, but rather with those sublime, unearthly types, whose best description is, that they were mystic roses from the Holy Wood that budded, the fragrance of which spread far and wide, which yet none could embody into ostensible form ; which lasted

ever the same, though none knew how it passed on from generation—a St. Lawrence, a St. Nicolas, a St. Anthony, a St. Martin ! And there are more reasons than this which seem to point out especially the second of the Saints just mentioned, St. Nicolas, as a just subject of comparison, as will be seen by the following extract from the Roman Breviary. “ St. Nicolas having devoted his whole soul to God, undertook a journey to Palestine, in order to visit the holy places, and manifest his veneration on the spot. When he had taken ship, though it was fair weather and the sea was quiet, he foretold to the sailors a dreadful tempest. The tempest came, and the passengers were all in extreme danger, but Nicolas prayed, and the tempest by miracle was assuaged. He returned home to Patara, in Lycia, after this journey, and gave the example of the most singular holiness. By divine admonition he then came to Myra, which was the metropolis of Lycia. Just at that time the Bishop of the city had died, and the provincial Bishops were consulting about the election of a successor. They also had received a divine intimation, urging them to elect the first who on the morrow should enter the Church in the morning and be called Nicolas. They did not disregard the command, and Nicolas was found on the morrow passing the doors of the Church, and with the consent of all was created Bishop of Myra. In his Episcopate he preserved that chastity which he had always maintained, and was noted for his wisdom, the frequency of his prayers, his vigils, abstinence, liberality and hospitality, his mildness in exhorting, and his severity in reproving.”

ERRATA.

Page

- 52 line 26, for *ashes*, read *wood-ashes*.
54 note, after *silice*, read *or cinere*.
59 line 12, for *six Bishops*, read *seven Bishops*.
61 lines 25 and 30, for *Marmontier*, read *Marmoutier*.
93 line 17, for *Vignornia*, read *Vigornia*.
95 line 9, for *beateous*, read *beauteous*.
97 note, for *Valerius*, read *Valesius*.
117 line 15, in some copies, for *præponerit*, read *præponeret*.
119 line 18, in some copies, for *St. Jerome*, read *St. Sulpitius*.
119 line 19, for *we know*, read *we learn*.
126 line 30, in some copies, for *Pelagius the Bishop*, read *Palladius
the Bishop*.
132 note, for *Mang*, read *Maug*.
132 note, for *Vaticam*, read *Vatican*.
153 line 30, for *in the present occasion*, read *on the present occasion*.
159 line 26, for *in that account*, read *on that account*.

Henry Mozley and Sons, Printers, Derby.

1.

Now ready, SECOND EDITION, price 14s. cloth.

THE IDEAL OF A CHRISTIAN CHURCH.
CONSIDERED
IN COMPARISON WITH EXISTING PRACTICE.

CONTAINING A DEFENCE OF
CERTAIN ARTICLES IN THE BRITISH CRITIC,
IN REPLY TO REMARKS ON THEM
IN MR. PALMER'S NARRATIVE.

BY THE REV. W. G. WARD, M.A.
FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

2.

Just published.

The Rosary and other Poems.

BY THE REV. W. FABER,
RECTOR OF ELTON, HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

3.

Also, price 1s. 6d.

THE DANGER OF CONFOUNDING THINGS DISPENSABLE
WITH THINGS INDISPENSABLE.

TWO SERMONS

PREACHED AT MARGARET STREET CHAPEL, MARYLEBONE,
ON SUNDAY THE 10TH AND SUNDAY THE 17TH OF NOVEMBER, 1844.

BY

THE REV. FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A.,
MINISTER OF THE CHAPEL, FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD,
AND PREBENDARY OF LICHFIELD.

4.

In the press, 12mo.

SUGGESTIONS ON THE PRACTICAL SYSTEM
PREVALENT IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH,

IN ITS MORE VITAL AND ESSENTIAL DEFECTS ;
AND ON THEIR APPROPRIATE REMEDIES.

BEING A SELECTION FROM A WORK ENTITLED
"THE IDEAL OF A CHRISTIAN CHURCH, ETC."

BY THE REV. W. G. WARD, M.A.
FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

JANUARY, 1867.

CATALOGUE

OF

W. B. KELLY'S

Publications and Remainders,

COMPRISING

Greek and Latin Classics,

TRANSLATIONS,

AND

ENGLISH & FOREIGN MISCELLANIES,

WHICH MAY BE PROCURED AT

W. B. KELLY'S, 8, GRAFTON-ST.,
DUBLIN.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND CO.;
MESSRS. TEGG & CO.; WILLIAM ALLEN & CO.

EDINBURGH: OLIVER AND BOYD.

AUSTRALIA: MELBOURNE, GEORGE ROBERTSON,
AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.

WILLIAM BERNARD KELLY,
PUBLISHER,

Importer of Foreign and English Books,

NEW AND OLD,
IN ALL BRANCHES OF LITERATURE.
Parcels of Foreign and English Books received Daily.

Schools, Colleges, and Religious Establishments supplied on Liberal Terms.
ALL ACCOUNTS RENDERED QUARTERLY.

^A
DEPOT FOR FOREIGN LITERATURE,
8, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

W. B. KELLY begs respectfully to call the attention of the Public to his Establishment for the Sale of Foreign Books, both old and new, in every branch of Literature and Science. His stock is being continually augmented by daily importations from France and Germany, through his Agents, and by frequent arrivals from other parts of the Continent.

An assortment of the best editions of the most popular and Classical Books in French, German, Italian, Greek, and Latin Languages is constantly kept on sale.

All Orders for Books not in Stock can be executed within the shortest possible time. *For Foreign Catalogues send three postage stamps.*

8, Grafton Street, Dublin.

JANUARY, 1867.

CATALOGUE

OF

W. B. KELLY'S

Publications & Remainders.

Literal Translations,

GREEK, LATIN, AND FRENCH.

SALLUST'S HISTORIES, by HENRY
OWGAN, L.L.D., 2s.

HOMER'S ILIAD (Books I. to VIII.),
Translated Literally into English Prose,
with Exegetical Notes, and *Introductory
Essay on the Peculiarities of the Homeric
Dialect*, by C. W. BATEMAN, Scholar,
Trinity College, Dublin, 2s.

HOMER'S ILIAD (Books I. to III.),
Literally Translated into English Prose,
with Exegetical Notes, and *Introductory
Essay on the Peculiarities of the Homeric
Dialect*, by C. W. BATEMAN, Scholar,
Trinity College, Dublin, 1s.

HOMER'S ILIAD (Books IX. and
XVIII.) Literally Translated, by C. W.
BATEMAN, Scholar, Trinity College,
Dublin.

CICERO (Old Age and Friendship), by
WM. LEWERS, Sch. T.C.D., 1s. 6d.

CICERO'S OFFICES, by HENRY
OWGAN, LL.D., 2s.

TACITUS (Annals, Books I. to VI.), by
R. MONGAN, A.B., Second Thou-
sand, 2s. 6d.

TACITUS (Germany and Agricola), by
HENRY OWGAN, LL.D., 2s.

LIVY (Books I. to III.). A New Trans-
lation by a Scholar, a Tutor of Trinity
College, 2s. 6d. *Preparing.*

LIVY (Books IV. and V.) by LEWERS
and M'DEVITT, 2s. 6d

LIVY (Book XXIII.), by ROSCOE
MONGAN, A.B., 2s. 6d.

VIRGIL'S WHOLE WORKS, by H.
OWGAN, LL.D., and ROSCOE
MONGAN, A.B., 2s. 6d.

VIRGIL'S ÆNEID (Books I. to VII.,
first Six by OWGAN; Book VII. by
MONGAN), 1s. 6d.

VIRGIL'S BUCOLICS AND GEORGICS,
by ROSCOE MONGAN, A.B., 1s. 6d.

VIRGIL'S ÆNEID (Books VII. to XII.),
by ROSCOE MONGAN, A.B., 1s. 6d.

DEMOSTHENES, the THREE OLYN-
THIAC ORATIONS, PROLEGO-
MENA, the ORATIONS ON THE
PEACE, and the CHERSONESUS,
by OWGAN, 1s.

DEMOSTHENES, the FOUR PHIL-
IPPIC ORATIONS and PROLEGO-
MENA, Translated by H. OWGAN, 1s.

DEMOSTHENES AND ÆSCHINES
ON THE CROWN, by R. MONGAN,
A.B., 2s.

HORACE (complete), with Life, by H.
OWGAN and R. MONGAN, 2s. 6d.

HORACE (Satires and Epistles), by R.
MONGAN, 1s. 6d.

HORACE (Odes, Epodes, and Carmen
Seculare), by MONGAN, 1s. 6d.

CÆSAR'S GALLIC WAR (Books I. to
IV.), by JOS. B. OWGAN, A.B., 1s. 6d.

CÆSAR'S GALLIC WAR (complete),
by OWGAN and BATEMAN, 2s. 6d.

EURIPIDES (MEDEA), Literally Trans-
lated by R. MONGAN, A.B., 1s.

EURIPIDES (HECUBA), Literally
Translated by ROSCOE MONGAN,
A.B., 1s.

EURIPIDES (PHŒNICIAN VIRGINS)
Literally Translated by ROSCOE
MONGAN, 1s.

ÆSCHYLUS (PROMETHEUS
CHAINED), Literally Translated by
ROSCOE MONGAN, A.B., 1s.

SOPHOCLES (EDIPUS. THE KING),
Literally Translated by R. MONGAN,
A.B., 1s.

PLATO. The Apology of Socrates and
Crito with the Phædo, Literally Trans-
lated by J. ECCLESTON, A.B.,
Scholar, T.C.D., 2s.

REVOLUTIONS OF SWEDEN, by
VERTOT, Translated from the French
by Stapleton, 2s. 6d.

THE FATHERS, HISTORIANS, and
WRITERS of the Church, Literally
Translated, being Extracts from the
Christian Classes. 12mo, cloth, extra,
4s. 6d.

CONTENTS.

Sulpicius Severus.	St. Augustine.
Eusebius.	St. Jerome.
Acts of the Apostles.	Tertullian.
Socrates.	St. Eucherius.
Sozomen.	Salvian.
Theodoret.	St. Bernard.
Minutius Felix.	St. Chrysostom.
St. Cyprian.	St. Basil.
Lactantius.	St. Gregory Nazianzen.
St. Ambose.	St. Gregory of Nyssa.

“A useful Manual for those who would attain to a general acquaintance with the early Christian writers.—*Athenæum*.

For recommendation of this work see *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*.

GREEK.

Ready, 12mo, bound, 663 pages, price 6s. 6d.

KUHNER'S ELEMENTARY GRAMMAR of the GREEK LANGUAGE; containing a Series of Greek and English Exercises for translation, with the requisite Vocabularies, and an Appendix on the Homeric Verse and Dialect. By Dr. RAPHAEL KUHNER, Co-Rector of the Lyceum Hanover. Translated by S. H. TAYLOR, LL.D. A New Edition, revised and Edited, with numerous amendations and additions, including upwards of 1,000 Examination Questions, and a Greek - English and English - Greek Lexicon. By CHARLES W. BATEMAN, LL.B., some time Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin.

"Of the merits of Kühner's Greek Grammar, now so generally acknowledged, we need hardly speak. The present edition, which is based on that of Dr. Taylor's, of America, has several explanatory Notes, and upwards of a thousand Questions appended to it by Mr. Bateman. No student can have attentively worked through these exercises without attaining a very considerable knowledge of Greek; and as the work combines Grammar, Delectus, and Lexicon, it may be confidently recommended as one of the best books which can be put into the hands of the beginner."—*Educational Times*, June, 1864.

NOTICE.—Tutors and Principals desirous of examining Kühner's Greek Grammar as above, will be favoured with a single copy, post free, on receipt of 4s. 6d. in postage stamps, by enclosing a copy of their Testimonials or Scholastic Card, addressed to Chas. Bateman, Esq., LL.B., care of W. B. Kelly, 8, Grafton Street, Dublin.

GREEK CONTINUED.

Also ready, 12mo, sewed, 2s. 6d.

A KEY to the EXERCISES in KUHNER'S GREEK GRAMMAR. By C. W. BATEMAN, LL.B. For the use of Tutors only.

PARADIGMS of the CONJUGATION of GREEK VERBS. Extracted from Bateman's Edition of Kuhner's Elementary Greek Grammar. By CHAS. W. BATEMAN, LL.B., some time Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. To which is added, METERS of the GREEK PLAYS. Price 1s.

KUHNER'S ELEMENTARY GREEK GRAMMAR, as above, *without the Exercises and Lexicon*, edited by BATEMAN. Price 3s. *Nearly Ready.*

GREEK CONTINUED.

ÆSCHINES in Ctesephontem et Demosthenes De Corona. The Greek Text, with Latin Translation. Edited by J. STOCK, Fellow and Tutor, Trinity College, Dublin. Thick post 8vo, cloth, 3s.

DEMOSTHENES Philippica et Olynthiaca Orationes. The Greek Text, with Latin Translation. By JOS. STOCK, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. Thick post 8vo, cloth, 3s.

EURIPIDES Phœnissæ. The Greek Text. Edited by PORSON, with Latin Translation. 8vo, boards, 1s.

EURIPIDES Orestes. The Greek Text. Edited by PORSON, with Latin Translation. 8vo, boards, 1s.

EURIPIDES (Hecuba), chiefly from the text of PORSON, with a Translation of his Annotations and Prefaces, a Life of Euripides, the Metres and Scansion of the Choral Odes, Questions, a full Index, and Notes, original and select. By G. B. WHEELER, A.B., T.C.D. Post 8vo, bound, 1s. 6d; sewed 1s. Reduced in price.

GREEK CONTINUED.

LONGINUS on the Sublime. The Greek Text, with Philological Dissertation and Notes, by SCHRAIDER. Edited, with Latin Translation, by GEORGE MILLER, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. 8vo, cloth, 3s. 6d.

GREEK Testament in Verses, with Greek-English Lexicon, 4s. 6d.

GREEK Testament in Verses, 3s.

PLATO'S Apology of Socrates and Crito, the Greek Text, with Literal *English Translation* at foot, 8vo, 3s.

HOMER'S Odyssey (Books I. to XII.). The Greek Text, with Latin Translation, Edited by CLARKE and ERNESTI. With Latin Notes, by JOHN WALKER, some time Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. 8vo, cloth, neat, 4s.

LATIN.

New School Virgil—12mo, bound, 3s.

VIRGIL.—The Bucolics, Georgics, and Æneid, comple. With English Notes, Explanatory and critical, and Metrical Analysis of the Æneid. By ROBERT CAMPBELL, Esq., Head Master of the High School, Waterford, and R. MONGAN, A.B., Ex-Classical Scholar, Trinity College, Dublin.

By same Editors.

VIRGIL'S ÆNEID, complete, 12mo, bound, with English Notes, 2s.

VIRGIL'S BUCOLICS and GEORGICS. With English Notes, 12mo, bound, 1s. 6d.

ETON Latin Grammar, (with English Syntax, 1s. 6d.)

LIVII. *Historiæ Romanum*, Liber I.-V., with Latin Notes for the use of Students. By J. Walker, Fellow and Tutor, Trinity College, Dublin. 8vo, cloth, 3s.

LIVII. *Historiæ Romanum ex Recens.* J. WALKER, F.T.C.D. Books XXI. to XXXV., with extensive Latin Notes 8vo, cloth, 6s.

LIVII. *Historiæ Romanum ex Recens.* J. WALKER, 7 vols., bound in 4, cloth, neat, 10s. 6d.

LATIN CONTINUED.

TACITUS. The Germany, Agricola, and Histories of Tacitus, Latin Text, with Latin Notes. By J. STOCK, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. Post 8vo, cloth, 3s.

TACITUS. The Annals Complete, Latin Text, with Latin Notes, by J. STOCK, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. Post 8vo, cloth, 3s.

RITUALE ROMANUM (APPENDIX AD) Sive Collectio Benedictionum et Instructionum a Rituali Romani Exsulantium Sanctæ Sedis Auctoritate Approbatarum seu Permissarum in usum et Commoditatem Missionorum Apostolicorum Digesta. *With the Approbation of his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin.* Royal 32mo, price 1s. 6d.; Post Free, 1s. 8d.

TERENCE (Adelphia and Hecyra), the Latin Text, with Literal English Prose Translation interpaged. By a Graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, 2s.

ENGLISH MISCELLANIES.

LECTURES on some subjects of Modern History and Biography: History of Spain in the Eighteenth Century. Religious and Political Institutions of Spain. Reply to Mr. Buckle's Civilization in Spain. Life, Writings, and Times of Chateaubriand. Secret Societies of Modern Times, viz:—Freemasons, the Illuminati, the Carbonari, the Jacobins, St. Simonians, Socialists, etc. Papal Legislation on Secret Societies; delivered at the Catholic University of Ireland, 1860 to 1864. By J. B. ROBERTSON, Esq., Professor of Modern History, Translator of Schlegel's "Philosophy of History," Moehler's "Symbolism," etc., crown 8vo, cloth, extra, over 500 pages, price 6s.

☞ "These subjects seem at first sight to have little to do with one another, but they are all of them interesting. He is an honest writer."—*Saturday Review*.

☞ "This Book must, without reserve, be recommended as most useful and agreeable, to those especially who wish to understand public life. To its most cursory reader we promise the best enjoyment for many a leisure hour, and to the student who reflects on it, a ripper judgment and a readier wit for the considering or in the conducting of great affairs."—*Nation*.

☞ "Mr. Robertson's book is indeed in every respect worthy of the reputation of the respected Author."—*Dublin Review*.

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF IRELAND. Their History, Position, and Treatment. By an Irish Archivist. Royal 8vo, 6s.

ENGLISH MISCELLANIES, CONTINUED.

THE CELTIC RECORDS and HISTORIC LITERATURE of IRELAND.

By J. T. GILBERT, M.R.I.A., Author of the "History of Dublin." 8vo, cloth, 5s. 6d.

MANGAN'S German and Irish Anthology. Poems by JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN, with Life. by J. MITCHELL. Post 8vo, cloth, elegant, 5s.

SWIFT—(Dr. Jonathan, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Author of Gulliver's Travels). A fine full length Portrait, size, twelve inches by nine. Engraved on copper by Scriven, from a painting by Bindon. Price 6d. Proofs on India Paper, 2s. 6d.

ST. PATRICK'S Cathedral, Dublin, (seven illustrations to the History and Antiquities of), engraved on copper, from designs by Bindon and Grattan, for Monck Mason's History of that Cathedral, including a full length portrait of Dean Swift, Author of Gulliver's Travels, etc., 4to, wrapper, 3s. 6d.

RHETORIC (A Hand-book of) based on the Works of Stirling and Holmes. Revised and Enlarged by the Reverend Professor Barry, of All Hallows College, 12mo, bound, 1s. 6d.

IRISH.

AN ENGLISH-IRISH DICTIONARY,
in English and Irish Characters, intended for the use of Schools; containing upwards of Eight Thousand English Words, with their corresponding Explanation IN IRISH. By T. CONNELLAN, Author of the King's Letter in Irish, English-Irish Primer, Irish-English Spelling Book, etc., 12mo, cloth, 2s.

KEYS TO ARNOLD'S WORKS.

ARNOLD'S (Key to) First Latin Prose Composition, 1s. 6d.

ARNOLD'S (Key to) Greek Accidence, 2s.

ARNOLD'S (Key to) Henry's First Latin Book, 1s.

ARNOLD'S (Key to) First Greek Book, 1s. 6d.

KEYS TO GALBRAITH & HAUGHTON'S SCIENTIFIC WORKS.

GALBRAITH and HAUGHTON'S (Key to) Arithmetic, 2s. 6d.

GALBRAITH and HAUGHTON'S (Key to) Trigonometry, 6s.

FRENCH CLASS BOOKS.

CHAMBAUD'S French Fables. Suives d'un Recueil de Fables en Vers, *with French and English Dictionary of all the Words contained in the Fables, both Prose and Verse.* Edition Nouvelle, par ROSCOE MONGAN, A.B., et par LOUIS GUIDA, LL.D., of the University of Paris, 12mo, bound, 2s.

BOSSUET'S (Eveque) Histoire Universelle, 18mo, bound, 2s.

BOSSUET'S Oraisons Funebres, 1s. 6d.

FENLON (Archeveque)—Traite de l'Existence de Dieu, 18mo, 1s. 6d.

FENELON (Archeveque)—Telemaque, 18mo, bound, 1s. 6d.

FENELON—Dialogues sur l'Eloquence, edition classique precedee d'une notice litteraire par E. ESTIENNE, 1s. 6d.

VOLTAIRE—Histoire de Charles XII., 18mo, bound, 1s. 6d.

FLORIAN (Fables de)—18mo, bound, 1s. 6d.

THE
SHAM SQUIRE.

THE
REBELLION IN IRELAND,
AND THE
INFORMERS OF 1798.

FIAT JUSTITIA.



(From a Caricature of the day.)

“BELPHEGOR, OR THE DEVIL TURNED ESQ.


“Yet do I remember the time past, I muse upon my works,
Yea, I exercise myself in the works of wickedness.”—*Psalms*.

SEE OVER.

THE SHAM SQUIRE,

THE REBELLION IN IRELAND. AND
INFORMERS OF 1798.

BY WILLIAM J. FITZPATRICK.

 *Third Edition, with many additions and recent revelations, valuable hitherto unpublished documents, and illustrations from cotemporary portraits. Post 8vo, Boards. Price 2s. 6d., or by Post, 2s. 10d.; also Cloth, extra, 3s. 6d., by Post, 3s. 10d.*

"The Author of 'The Sham Squire' has so shown up the rascality of the tragic comedians who have acted the drama of Irish rebellion that the heroes of romance have become as suspicious as those of the reality in the last century. Some of the most prominent of the 'patriots' were in the pay of Government. There is reason to infer that the same case now exists. One consequence is, that when we meet with a rebel hero in fiction, we speculate upon the question of his being a Government agent, and whether he has received a retaining fee in the lump, or is set down for life annuity, like his prototypes in 'The Sham Squire.'"—*Athenæum*, Dec. 31, 1866.

"This reads like so many pages out of Mr. Lever's 'Con Cregan, or the Irish Gil Blas'; but Mr. Fitzpatrick quotes several legal and literary documents to authenticate his text. This work is extremely curious... Most curious."—*Athenæum*.


"Curiously illustrating the state of party and the press at a most momentous period of Ireland's history."—*Notes and Queries*.

From the Morning Post, [London].

"Mr. Fitzpatrick's book is one which will give unmingled satisfaction to the reader. It is replete with interesting characters, incidents, and anecdotes of by far the most momentous period of Irish Annals; and its historical style is lively, pointed, and striking. It evinces much laborious and successful research, and merits a permanent place among collections of Irish History."

From the Pall Mall Gazette.

"Full of new and surprising curiosities of information."

 *Fifty Copies of the "Sham Squire" have been printed on large paper, Roxborough style, only a few of which is for Sale. Price 71 1s. each.*

W. B. Kelly, 8, Grafton Street, Dublin. 19

RE-ISSUE

OF THE

Lives of the English Saints.

Originally Published by Mr. Toovey, London,
And now Published, without any alterations or
additions whatever, by

WILLIAM BERNARD KELLY,
8, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

THE TRADE SUPPLIED, IN LONDON, BY
MESSRS. SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO.

AND
MESSRS. BURNS, LAMBERT, AND OATES.

For the Literary History of these volumes, see VERY
REV. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN'S *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*,
Pages 153—337; and Appendix, page 33.

LIVES OF THE ENGLISH SAINTS:

PROJECTED AND PARTLY EDITED BY THE
VERY REV. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN,
And others of the Oxford School,

Comprising upwards of Thirty Biographies of the most
eminent Ecclesiastics and Pious Women of the
early English Church. 14 vols., 12mo, hand-
somely printed, with engraved
frontispieces.

Lives of the English Saints—continued.

1. *St. Stephen*, Abbot and Founder of the Cistercian Order, 12 mo, sewed, 2s. 6d. Reprinting.
2. *St. Richard*, the Saxon; *St. Willibald*, *St. Walburga*, and *St. Winibald*; 12mo, sewed, 2s. Reprinting.
- 3, 4. *St. Augustine of Canterbury*, Apostle of the English, and his Companions, *St. Mellitus*, *St. Lawrence*, *St. Peter*, *St. Justus*, and *St. Honorius*; together with some account of the early British Church, 2 vols. 12mo, sewed, 3s.; or 2 vols. in one, cloth, elegant, 3s. 6d. Ready.
5. *The Hermit Saints*; being the Histories of *St. Gundleus*, *St. Helier*, *St. Herbert*, *St. Edelwald*, *St. Bettelin*, *St. Neot*, and *St. Bartholomew*; sewed, 2s. Ready.
6. *St. Wulstan*, Bishop of Worcester; and *St. William*, Archbishop of York, 12mo, sewed, 2s. Reprinting.

Lives of the English Saints—continued.

7. *St. Paulinus*, Archbishop of York, and companion of *St. Augustine*; *St. Edwin*, King, and *St. Ethelburga*, Queen; *St. Oswald*, and *St. Oswin*, Kings and Martyrs; *St. Ebba* and *St. Bega*, Virgins and Abesses; and *St. Adamnan*, Monk of Coldingham; 12mo, sewed, 2s. 6d. Reprinting.
8. *St. Gilbert*, Prior of Sempringham, 12mo, sewed, 2s. Ready.
9. *St. Wilfred*, Bishop of York, 12mo, sewed, 2s. 6d. Reprinting.
- 10, 11. *St. German*, Bishop of Auxerre in Normandy, 2 vols. 12mo, sewed, 3s.; or two vols. in one, cloth, elegant, 3s. 6d. Ready.
12. *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of Canterbury, 12mo, sewed, 2s.; or cloth, elegant, 2s. 6d. Ready.
13. *St. Aelred*, Abbot of Rievaulx; and *St. Ninian*; 12mo, sewed, 2s. 6d. Reprinting.

Hives of the English Saints—continued.

14. *St. Edmund*, Archbishop of Canterbury; *St. Richard*, Bishop of Chichester; *St. Waltheof*, and *St. Robert*, of Newminster, 12mo, sewed, 2s. 6d. Re-printing.

“There are special reasons at this time for recurring to the Saints of our own dear, yet most erring and most unfortunate, England. Such a recurrence may teach us to love our country better, and on truer grounds, than heretofore; to invest her territory, her cities and villages, her hills and springs, with sacred associations; to give us an insight into her present historical position in the course of the Divine dispensation; to instruct us in the capabilities of the English character; and to open upon us the duties and the hopes to which that Church is heir, which was in former times the mother of *St. Boniface* and *St. Ethelreda*.”

DUBLIN :

W. B. KELLY, 8, GRAFTON-ST.

THE
SHAM SQUIRE.

THE
REBELLION IN IRELAND

AND THE
INFORMERS OF 1798.

Seventh Thousand.

By W. J. FITZPATRICK.



HEPENSTALL
THE WALKING CALLOW

IMPORTED IN QUANTITIES BY WILLIAM BERNARD KELLY,
8, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

MALDONATI, Commentarii in Quator Evangelistas, 2 tomes, sewed, 1862, 12s., by post 13s.

MANUALE SACERDOTUM. Edited by P. J. Schneider, S.J., 18mo, sewed, 5s.; half calf, 6s. 6d.; calf, 7s.

BRESSANVIDO, Instructiones, Morales sur le Doctrine Chretienne, 5 tomes, sewed, £1 5s.

INSTITUTIONES LITURGICÆ, olim a T. J. Romse editæ nunc variis additionibus, etc., studio H. Haze, 2 tomes, 8vo, sewed, 9s., post free, 10s.

SCHOUPE, (F. X., S.J.) Compendium Perfectiones Sacerdotalis, 18mo, sewed, 1s. 3d., post free 1s. 5d.

SCHOUPE (F.X., S.J.) Adjumenta Oratoris Sacri seu Divisiones Sententiæ est Documenta de iis Christianæ Vitæ Veritatibus et Officiis quæ frequentius e Sacro Pulpito proponenda sunt. Collecta atque ordine, digesta opera. 8vo, sewed, 4s.; cloth, 5s.; half calf, 6s.

SCHOUPE (F.X., S.J.) Elementa Theologiæ Dogmaticæ, 2 tomes, 8vo, sewed, 9s., or bound, 13s.

GURY'S Casus Conscientiæ. New edition, in one volume, sewed, 7s. Boards, 8s.; Half Calf, 9s.

GURY'S Compendium Theologiæ Moralis, the New *Ratisbonne* edition, sewed, ready in April, 1867, with notes by Balierini.

SUARES S. J. OPERA OMNIA, 4to, in 23 vols., sewed, £16.

CORNELII A LAPIDE Commentaria in Scripturam Sacram, quibus accedunt quæ in Cornelio desunt corderi commentaria in Librum Job et Bellarmini explanatio in psalmos. 24vo, 4to, sewed, £9 10s.

DIONYSII PETAVII de Theologicis Dogmatibus. Aurelianensis e societate Jesu, nova editio notis ac dissertationibus Francisci Antonii Zachariæ ejusdem societatis illustrata, quibus accesserunt selectæ notæ Adriani Leclerc aliorumque necnon quædam recens editæ, accurate iterumque annotante, J. B. Fournials, Can. Albiensi. 8 vols. Royal 8vo, sewed, £1 0s. 0d

HISTOIRE GENERALE des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques. Qui contient leur vie le catalogue, la critique, le jugement, la chronologie, l'analyse et le dénombrement des différentes éditions de leur ouvrages,

ce qu'ils renferment de plus intéressant sur le dogme, sur la morale et sur la discipline de l'Eglise, l'histoire des conciles tant généraux que particuliers et les actes choisis des martyrs. Par le R.P. Dom Remy Ceillier. Nouvelle Edition, soigneusement revue, corrigée, complétée et terminée par une Table générale des matières, par M. Bauzon, ancien directeur de Séminaire. 17 volumes in 40 a deux colonnes. Price £6. 16s.

LUDOVICI THOMASSINI, de Theologicis Dogmatibus, Congregationis Oratorii Presbyteri, Editio Nova, accurate iterumque annotante, P. E. Ecalle Sacre theologiæ in seminario Trecenti professore. 6 volumes in-40 à 2 colonnes, papier verge a la colle animale. Price £4, deux volumes ont paru. L'ouvrage du P. Thomassin traite de Dieu et de ses attributs de l'Incarnation, de la Trinité, de la Grace. L'auteur raisonne toujours d'après les convenances les desseins, les vues et les autres merveilles qu'il y découvre. Nous ne rapportons pas d'autres éloges du P. Thomassin.

VIE DES SAINTS, Par le R. P. Ribadeneira. Traduction Française revue et augmentée de la vie des Saints, et des bienheureux Nouveaux, des Fêtes de Notre-Seigneur et de l'Histoire des Saints de l'Ancien Testament par M. l'Abbe Daras. Cinquième édition revue, corrigée et augmentée d'une table analytique a l'usage des predicateurs et des catechistes. 13 volumes in 8vo, papier velin satine. Price, £2 10s.

HISTOIRE DE FRANCE depuis les premiers ages jusqu'en 1848, ouvrage dédié a Mgr l'Evêque de Verdun par l'Abbe Pierrot. Auter du "Dictionnaire de theologie dogmatique," publié dans l'Encyclopedie theologique, avec la collaboration d'un de nos écrivains les plus connus, dans la presse religieuse et politique. Deuxième édition. 15 beaux volumes in-8, papier velin satine. Price £3 10s.

HISTOIRE GENERALE DE L'EGLISE, depuis la creation jusqu'a nos jours, par l'abbé J. E. Daras, Vicaire General D'Ajaccio. About 20 Vols. 5s. each.



36749



